"SHALL ILL-GOTTEN GAINS
BE SOUGHT FOR CHRISTIAN PURPOSES?,"
WASHINGTON GLADDEN'S "TAINTED MONEY"
ADDRESS, SEATTLE, SEPTEMBER 15, 1905

BY

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ABSTRACT

"SHALL ILL-GOTTEN GAINS BE SOUGHT FOR CHRISTIAN PURPOSES?" WASHINGTON GLADDEN'S "TAINTED MONEY" ADDRESS, SEATTLE, SEPTEMBER 15, 1905

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On September 15, 1905, Washington Gladden, "father of the social gospel," placed a motion before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions meeting in Seattle opposing that group's solicitation and acceptance of money gifts from morally-questionable sources. The occasion captured national attention, being interpreted as a confrontation between Gladden, a lone voice for righteousness, and the day's spirit of rampant materialism, personified in the popular mind by men like John D. Rockefeller whose gift to the Board had precipitated the incident upon which the study concentrates.

The purpose of this study was to make a critical analysis of the speech Gladden offered in support of his motion, in terms of current public speaking theory, and in

view of the historical circumstances surrounding the event.

The approach was that of the case study. An analysis of Gladden's immediate audience was made with emphasis on factors which shaped his listeners' opinions on the issue at hand. The study included a running commentary on the speech, tracing the course of Gladden's speaking and writing on points at issue, and citing pertinent historical data. Critical judgment was made of the appropriateness of the arguments presented. And an examination was made of the debate which followed Gladden's speech. Sections of the study dealt with Gladden's use of persuasive materials, the structure of the speech, its style, and aspects of his delivery. Summary criticism was made of the entire speech; and a concluding section suggests contributions of the study to rhetorical scholarship, and makes recommendations for further study.

Materials utilized included many of Gladden's original handwritten sermon manuscripts, and numerous magazine and newspaper articles, as they were determined to relate to the central incident. Also, historians and other comentators upon both the times and the event were consulted.

A finding of the study was that Gladden's audience members, though churchmen, were, in the main, hostile to his views on the issue at hand. It was also discovered that most of the arguments which Gladden used, as well as his supporting materials, he had employed earlier, either in sermons, or in his writings, or in both. In fact, another finding of the study was that Gladden's Seattle speech actually climaxed nearly 30 years of speaking and writing on the same general theme. It was not a six-month's phenomenon.

It was judged that the speech was a success, for, in spite of their prior commitment to a position contrary to his own, and their presumed familiarity with his arguments, Gladden succeeded in neutralizing the hostility of his audience. A counter-motion of the Board was not passed. Neither was Gladden's motion defeated. Both motions were tabled, and, in the ensuing months, some Board members stated that the substance of his advocacy would become the Board's guiding principle. A secondary result of Gladden's agitation on this theme, and other incidents like it, was industry's establishment of what evolved into modern-day departments of public relations.

In his address, he skillfully employed a variety of persuasive materials, especially relying on emotive language and figures of speech, and liberally citing his own experiences and opinions. A conclusion of the study is that Gladden's ethos, built up through his speaking, his writing, and his long and appreciated service to the churches, was a key element in the success of his Seattle speech.

An extensive collection of relevant documents is appended.

To Marjory.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to acknowledge his undebtedness to the many Gladden scholars who have preceded him.

Also, great appreciation is herewith expressed for the encouragement and patient guidance given the writer by Professor David C. Ralph.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY MATTERS

A. The Occasion In Which This Study Centers:

The most notable single action in the sequence of events leading up to the incident upon which this study focuses was taken by the millionaire, John D. Rockefeller, Sr. Head of a corporation whose net assets totaled $315,613,261.55 in the year 1905,[1] the year in which the incident took place, he had, as a faithful Baptist, donated regularly to his denomination and to various philanthropic causes through many years. All Rockefeller's giving for religious purposes was confined to his own denomination until the Spring of 1905, when it was announced that he had crossed denominational lines and given a gift of $100,000.00 to the Congregationalist American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.[2]

In response to this action a genuine tempest of discussion arose. Within the ranks of the Congregationalists voices of protest were raised against accepting the gift, and one voice was stronger than all the rest. It was that of the Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden, a long-time leader in the so-called Social Gospel movement,[1] a comparatively new strain in American religion. At the heart of the Social Gospel movement was the teaching that the Christian's obligation was to call into question all forms of injustice wherever they occured, and not to associate himself with persons or organizations which were judged to be threats to society's welfare.[2] Rockefeller's business methods were, so Gladden thought, of a highly questionable nature. Rockefeller had organized a giant combination of firms related to the oil industry, and, so the popular report went, he had used the power this gave him to squeeze out smaller competitors, fix prices to his own advantage, and influence government agencies unfairly. At least that was the popular claim of the day.[1] Thus, when the gift was announced Gladden told the congregation of the First Congregational Church of Columbus, Ohio, where he was pastor that he believed the agents of the American Board should not accept it. He said to them on March 26:

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[1] Allen Nevins, John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), II, p. 541.

[2] "Good News for the American Board," Congregationalist, XC (March 18, 1905), p. 349.

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[1] H. Richard Niebuhr, The Kingdom of God in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1937), p. 151 ff.

For a biographical outline of Gladden's life see the Appendix attached to this study. For a definitive biography of Gladden see Jacob Henry Dorn, III, "Washington Gladden: Prophet of the Social Gospel, 1886-1918," (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, The University of Oregon, 1965) (later published: Dorn, Jacob Henry, Washington Gladden: Prophet of the Social Gospel, Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1968). (All references to the dissertation form.) For an autobiographical statement see Washington Gladden, Recollections (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909). For an extended interpretation of the significance of the Social Gospel movement and Gladden's part in it see Charles Howard Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940).

[2] Niebuhr, op. cit., p. 181.

> We do not want this man's money. To accept it will be to invite the contempt of millions of honest men; to reject it will strengthen our churches in the affection and respect of millions who are inclined to doubt whether the churches love God more than Mammon.[2]

Gladden's protest was widely reported. The correspondence he received immediately following that sermon revealed that newspapers in various far-flung sections of the country reported it. From such cities as Easton, Pennsylvania, Buffalo, New York, and New Orleans, Louisiana came letters dated March 27, bearing the news of how pleased their senders were to have noted Gladden's remarks in their local papers.[3]

Thus the battle was mounted with Gladden on one side together with a few fellow Congregationalists, and on the other side the powerful American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions who not only wished to accept the gift (and did), but soon let it be known that their own agent had earnestly sought the gift from the oil magnate over a period of at least two years.[1] Gladden, a corporate member of the American Board for years, and, at the time, elected Moderator of the National Council of Congregational Churches, was deeply disturbed and announced his intention to carry the fight to the floor of the annual meeting of the Board scheduled for September 14-18, 1905, in Seattle, Washington.[2] This study centers in Gladden's remarks of protest, and especially in those remarks he delivered in Seattle where he did indeed address the Board on the theme, "Shall Ill-Gotten Gains Be Sought for Christian Purposes?"[3]

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[1] Matthew Josephson, The Robber Barons: The Great American Capitalists, 1861-1901 (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1934, 1962), see his chapter on "Concentration: The Great Trusts," pp. 375-403.

[2] Washington Gladden, "The Religion of a Gentleman," Sermon, March 26, 1905, Gladden Papers. [See the Appendix for the complete text of this sermon, plus a photo-copy of Gladden's original manuscript.]

[3] E. O. Correll, R. M. Fotheringham and E. J. Upton to Gladden, March 27, 1905.

B. The Purpose of this Study:

The purpose of this study is to discover how Gladden employed public speaking at the Seattle meeting of the American Board in his attempt to win its members to his point of view.

In more precise terms, it is the purpose of this study to discover how Gladden attempted to solve a specific

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[1] James T. Barton, "The Correspondence on the Rockefeller Gift," Independent, LVIII (April 20, 1905), pp. 871-874.

[2] Gladden, "Dr. Gladden Again Protests," Congregationalist, XC (Aug. 26, 1905), p. 281.

[3] Gladden, The New Idolatry and Other Discussions (New York: McClure, Phillips and Co., 1905), pp. 53-88. [As we shall see there are other sources for this text.]

"rhetorical problem," to use a term of Cathcart's.[1] By this term, Cathcart implies that every speech is central to a problem-solving situation. The audience, if analyzed thoroughly, will be seen to bear certain characteristics which it is the speaker's task to discover and take into consideration as he plans and presents his speech. To the extent that he does this properly, to that extent he will be able to solve the rhetorical problem he faces; that problem being how to accomplish his goal for his listeners. It follows that the critic's task is to discover the characteristics of the audience faced by the speaker in the situation under study in order that he (the critic) might have an awareness of what should have been done in order to solve that particular rhetorical problem. As a part of his criticism, the critic must determine the extent to which the speaker reflects an awareness of the characteristics of his audience, and then determine whether the speaker employs appropriate materials and techniques in his attempted "solution."

The ultimate goal for this study in the context of public speaking scholarship is to discover the way or ways in which the speaking of Gladden in this situation confirms or adds to our understanding of the elements of effective oral communication.

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[1] Robert Cathcart, Post Communication: Criticism and Evaluation (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1966), pp. 36-39.

C. Definition of Terms:

It is the intention of the writer to define terms as they arise in the study.

D. Limitations Imposed:

This is not to be an analysis conducted under strictly Aristotelian lines. Bailey has already done this with Gladden's sermons.[1] Neither is this to be a review of Gladden's speaking theory, or of his speaking practice in his Columbus pulpit. These things have already been done by Fry,[2] and much similar work has been done by Dorn.[3] Biographical materials will be kept to a minimum as Dorn has reviewed these in a way which will probably stand for many years.[4] Numerous other theses dealing with Gladden's thoughts as well as his social activities preclude elaborate treatment of those themes.[1]

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[1] Richard Eugene Bailey, "A Rhetorical Study of Selected Sermons of Washington Gladden," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, The Ohio State University, 1964.)

[2] Charles George Fry, "Washington Gladden as Preacher," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, The Ohio State University, 1961.)

[3] Dorn, op. cit.

[4] Ibid.

Rather, this study will concentrate upon Gladden's Seattle speaking, it being understood that the term "speaking" is to include the speech, speaker, audience, and occasion factors found to be pertinent.

E. Justification of the Project:

Intrinsically, the project is justified in terms of its being a speech-centered event of significance in American history.[2] In fact, in this event one might say that the speech was the key element in the entire incident.

This particular event has never been studied by a speech scholar. Dorn comes nearest, devoting a chapter to Gladden's thought on the subject of contemporary business practices,[3] 30 pages to the give-and-take which surrounded the event in question,[1] and three sentences to the speech itself.[2] No speech scholar has conducted a search for an authentic text of Gladden's speech. None has shown evidence of perusing the Seattle newspapers which contain a wealth of material contributing to meaningful audience analysis. These same papers also offer important information regarding Gladden's personal conduct during the American Board meeting, and the public's sense of the significance of the occasion. No scholar has noted that a record of the debate which followed the speech was recorded and is available for study. And, most significantly, no scholar has ever attempted to analyze the total situation in terms of what is known about public speaking theory and practice, attempting to derive either precept or example for the profession.

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[1] Alma Jagsch, "Washington Gladden, A Prophet of Social Justice," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, The Ohio State University, 1935); Edward I. Cohen, "The Economic and Social Philosophy of Washington Gladden," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Michigan State College, 1951); James Devec Hillman, "The Contribution of Washington Gladden to the Social Movement in American Protestantism," (Unpublished Th.D. Thesis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1951);Norman T. Goover, "The Church and Social Action: The Idea of the Church and Its Relation to Christian Social Strategy in Charles G. Finney, Horace Bushnell, and Washington Gladden," (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Yale University Divinity School, 1956); Donald G. Baughman, "Washington Gladden's Attitude on War," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, The Ohio State University, 1960); David A. Jones, "Time for Adjustment: An Examination of the Social Thought of Washington Gladden as it Came to Bear on the Labor Problem," (Unpublished B.D. Thesis, Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1962); Kenneth Lee Brown, "Washington Gladden: Exponent of Social Christianity," (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Duke University, 1964).

[2] Nevins, op. cit., II, p. 534.

[3] Dorn, op. cit., pp. 304-344.

Extrinsically, the project may be of interest to preachers who have been made aware that, according to a recent Gallup poll, an increasing number of church members do not believe that ministers should deal with "social issues."[3] Discovering how a clergyman confronted the largest industrial empire of his day on the basis of its alledged unethical business practices may offer some counsel for approaching some of the more controversial issues of our day.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 330-339.

[2] Ibid., p. 337.

[3] New York Times, April 11, 1968.

There may also be those who would be interested in the fact that a recently-reported incident in which a wealthy prospective donor to Boston University was verbally attacked on the basis of his questionable business ethics was not without precedent.[1]

Also, there may be those who would find in a review of this event why the professor-founder of a "Hall of Fame for Businessmen" at a large mid-Western university found it expedient to say that in the selection of candidates from a list which included Henry Ford, Andrew Carnegie, J. P. Morgan, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., "it is probable that businessmen's ethics and morals will be judged in the context of their times, rather than by today's standards."[2]

Finally, present and future Gladden scholars may profit from a study of what Dorn terms "the best-known episode in his [Gladden's] career."[3]

F. Materials and Sources:

1. Gladden's sermon manuscripts now in the Gladden Papers at the Ohio Historical Society Library in Columbus are basic.

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[1] "The Power of Protest," Time, 91 (March 22, 1968), p. 40.

[2] Detroit News, January 13, September 20, 1967.

[3] Dorn, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

2. His published writings are also of importance.

3. Thousands of letters received by Gladden are also now part of the Gladden Papers.

4. The archives of the First Congregational Church of Columbus, Ohio contain some correspondence, church records, and mementos of Gladden's career. This is a small but significant collection.

5. Contemporary periodicals are also important. Periodicals most used in this study are the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Times, and Star; the Ohio State Journal; The Congregationalist and Christian World; and The Outlook. (The latter two publications are available in the libraries at the University of Michigan, and at Oberlin College.)

6. The records and minutes of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which are now located in the Houghton Library at Harvard University are useful.

7. The interpretations of the times, the event, Gladden, and their interrelationships by contemporary and modern historians are also significant.

8. Also helpful were the recollections of several persons with long memories who shared their memories of Gladden freely.

G. Organization and Methodology:

The germinal ideas for the organization and methodology employed in this study were derived from the thesis of Wallace which was a unique study of the speech of Alfred E. Smith given at Oklahoma City, September 20, 1928.[1] In its style, format, and scholarly approach it has also served as an inspiration as well as a model. Certainly Wallace's work offers a meaningful approach to the study of significant, speech-centered incidents. As with Wallace's, this study's basic plan is that of following the actual text of the speech itself, studying it section-by-section, dividing it into segments according to where Gladden appears to introduce new lines of thought.

There are places where the organization and procedures of the present study differ from that of Wallace's. If there is a criticism to offer of Wallace's study, it is the slight but significant one that its evidences, terminology, and conclusions are not readily accessible to the speech scholar. Records of scholarship, it seems to the writer, must be written in order that "he who runs might read." That is, they must use terminology that is reasonably familiar within the special major discipline under whose classification they appear. There should be no need to interpret "other words." Also, the scholar who follows after the researcher should be able to find the information he is seeking in a minimal number of places. Finally, the emphasis upon elements pertinent to the discipline (in this case speech communication) should be at least as great as the emphasis upon the peculiar milieu through which it must pass (in this case, again, history). These are not offered as debilitating criticisms of Wallace's work; they are, rather, strong suggestions for future scholars to follow, suggestions this study intends to take seriously.

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[1] Elton Harvey Wallace, "Alfred E. Smith, The Religion Issue: Oklahoma City, September 20, 1928," (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1965).

Therefore, this study uses more of the terms and language peculiar to the speech field, attempting to interpret events and pronouncements in those terms wherever possible. Also, the attempt is made to organize the material, especially in summaries, around themes and categories derived from the field of speech, rather than around segments of history. This is especially pertinent for some of the investigation into the make-up of the audience, and for all of the conclusions offered. And, finally, there is a definite attempt in this study to analyze at length and in depth the speech factors related to the occasion, rather than to expend prolonged effort on interpreting history. The end goal is that of advancing the field of speech communication, not that of history. Organizationally, this means that some of the types of material which Wallace retains within the body of his discussion of the speech proper this study draws together in sections apart. Thus, for example, criticism is contained in separate sections rather than in the "body" of the speech analysis. This should provide more convenient access for later scholars.

The method followed in this investigation is that of the case study. The case study, as defined and described by Murray in Dow's An Introduction to Graduate Study in Speech and Theatre,[1] is the method most appropriate for investigating the incident at hand. To use Murray's words, the attempt is "to unearth information to permit diagnosis and evaluation."[2] That is what is intended here--to diagnose the problem Gladden faced, and then evaluate the way in which he attempted to solve it. The case study method offers a means for assembling the appropriate information. The purpose of this study is to discuss what Gladden actually said and did at Seattle, and then make critical judgments regarding those elements.

It should also be noted that the case study method does not lend itself to the categorical precision some others do, nor can it always be completely "objective." Again, Murray says, "When objective data may be obtained they are used; when they are not to be obtained, the case history uses simple description. The case history is generally a combination of the objective and the subjective without discrimination."[3] This is not offered as an excuse for any blatant subjectivity the reader may detect. It is the simple fact of the matter. The real test the reader may wish to apply in order to determine whether or not this writer has used the method judiciously is, again to use Murray's words: Does the study "arrive at defensible conclusions?"[1]

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[1] Elwood Murray, "Case Study and Case History," in Clyde W. Dow, ed., An Introduction to Graduate Study in Speech and Theatre (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1961), pp. 257-275.

[2] Ibid., p. 259.

[3] Ibid., p. 258.

In general, organization of and procedures utilized within the study itself may be discussed along the following lines (excluding Chapter I):

1. (Chapter II) There is an attempt to precisely identify an authentic text for Gladden's Seattle speech. In an age when "ghost writers" are becoming more common, and "sermon helps" more the rule than the exception, it is important to have the best assurance possible that the genuine work of Gladden is at hand.

2. (Chapter III) There is an attempt to describe in detail the setting of the speech:

   a. The Plymouth Church, Seattle, Washington.

   b. The annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

   c. A recapitulation of the events peculiar to the controversy over the acceptance of Rockefeller's gift, with emphasis on the conflict between Gladden and the Board.

   d. The expressions of feeling on the issue by Board members upon their arrival in Seattle, and the immediate stress given the conflict aspects of the meeting by the public media.

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 262.

e. Factors relating to Gladden's arrival: his failure to arrive with the other delegates; the attempt of his colleagues to have him withdraw; his own judgment upon the situation; and his determination to proceed.

f. The emphases of the addresses preceding Gladden's in the meeting.

3. (Chapter IV) An attempt is made to isolate the factors at work within Gladden's audience creating his peculiar rhetorical problem.

4. (Chapter V) A discussion of the procedures of the meeting through which Gladden and his resolution were introduced comes next; and with it are offered observations on how he began to communicate even before he began the speech itself.

5. (Chapter VI) In this section a detailed analysis of Gladden's speech "Ill-Gotten Gains" is undertaken. Some special aspects of this should be noted:

a. Beyond comments in passing, no extended attempt is made to pass judgment upon the appropriateness of the line (or lines) of thought advanced at that particular point in the discussion. It is the writer's intention to serve as critic, but in the interest of narrative flow on the one hand, and convenient organization on the other, extended critical remarks are made in appropriately labeled sections at the close of the study.

b. Main stress is placed upon the following:

1.) Verification, where possible or pertinent, of the source of the material presented;

2.) Commentary upon the validity of the material in terms of historical report;

3.) Comparison of the line of thought advanced with its expression in other places at other times by Gladden (if indeed there be such). Did Gladden ever say it before? Did his audience ever hear (or read) it before? This is a significant point, for, as Ellingsworth and Clevenger say:

> If the speech situation is a real one, ..., the process of information-gathering will not be bounded...definitely in time and space. The speaker's attitudes, cognitive structure, group memberships, and commitments as a change agent will all have been operating. He will not choose or be asked to speak about matters foreign to his concern. Thus preparation for a particular speech has been going on during the whole period of the speaker's awareness of a matter. For the speaker in a real situation, information-gathering is not merely a chronological step that falls between the choice of subject and the speech delivery. It is an integral part of him. He may make his knowledge more specific or update it through research. But preparation will be a continuous, ongoing process both before and after the speech is

> delivered. Why after the speech? Because in an ongoing program of communication for change, each speech becomes a part of the background of subsequent speeches.[1]

(It is a hypothesis of the writer's that little in Gladden's Seattle speech was new with him on that occasion.) Also, and of more importance, this procedure allows for a fuller representation of what Gladden's thought was on all the aspects of the issue under discussion. Comparisons will be made with other speech "texts" selected from the Gladden Papers, and other sources, where there is evidence that the material may have been used in the pulpit. These "texts" were selected because, in the judgment of the writer, they appeared in whole or in part to be related to the theme at hand.

Another significant point to be made is again put by Ellingsworth and Clevenger:

> ...any particular speech is virtually always one of a number of messages on a subject coming to a respondent and... social action--adoption--succeeds or fails because of (or perhaps in spite of) this flood of messages.[2]

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[1] Huber W. Ellingsworth and Theodore Clevenger, Jr., _Speech and Social Action: A Strategy of Oral Communication_ (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967, p. 40.

[2] _Ibid_, p. 183.

(It will be seen in the analysis of Gladden's audience that this relates to the "inoculation" thesis advance.)

On this point it was essential to select only those messages with which it is presumed Gladden's audience members would have had some contact before the Seattle meeting. There were at least three of these sources possible, and they are compared with Gladden's Seattle speech. The stress in all of this will be to reveal what it seems to the writer too many studies obscure, that is, what the speaker actually said on the topic at hand.

6. (Chapter VII) In this section there will be a discussion of the recorded "debate" which followed Gladden's speech.

7. (Chapter VIII) In this section there will be a discussion of Gladden's use of persuasive materials in this speech. (Again, terms will be defined as they arise.)

   a. Gladden's use of materials of development.
   b. Gladden's use of materials of experience.
   c. Gladden's use of personal proof.

8. (Chapter IX) In this section there will be a discussion of the structure and style Gladden employed in his speech. (There is not enough evidence to warrant a prolonged discussion of delivery.)

9. (Chapter X) In this section critical remarks

will be drawn together around a systematic framework; and the effects of Gladden's speech will be discussed.

10. (Chapter XI) In this section comments will be made regarding the contributions Gladden's performance at Seattle as well as this study make to the field of speech; and suggestions for further research will be made.[1]

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[1] A study employing a methodology similar to that of this one, and the Wallace study cited, is Deane A. Kemper, "John F. Kennedy Before the Houston Ministerial Association, September 12, 1960: The Religious Issue," (Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1968).

CHAPTER II

TEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

In order to properly study a speech, it is necessary to have an authentic text, one that has been certified as to its authorship, date and place of origination and delivery, and its accuracy.[1] However, as Thonssen and Baird suggest, establishing the authenticity of a speech text may be as challenging an aspect of the critic's work as the making of the final estimate of the speech's merit.[2] Nevertheless, it is the critic's obligation to establish such a text,[3] and the writer has attempted to do so for Gladden's Seattle speech.

First a search was made through the Gladden Papers, now part of the manuscript collection in the Ohio Historical Society on the campus of The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

This search for a text in Gladden's own handwriting was fruitless. (One would not, of course, assume that a handwritten text would necessarily settle the case for an authentic text. A written text from the author's own hand may indicate intention, but it does not guarantee that that is indeed the way in which the speech was delivered.)

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[1] J. Jeffery Auer, An Introduction to Research in Speech (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 123.

[2] Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism: The Development of Standards for Rhetorical Appraisal (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 297.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 311.

The next step taken in the search for a text was that of researching books, magazines, and newspapers for a text of the speech. In Gladden's book, The New Idolatry, there is a section headed, "Shall Ill-Gotten Gains be Sought for Christian Purposes?," and sub-headed, "Address before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at Seattle, Washington, September 15, 1905."[1] A collection of paragraphs was discovered in the Congregationalist, for September 23, 1905, headed, "Shall Ill-Gotten Gains be Sought for Christian Purposes: Portions of Dr. Gladden's Paper Read at the Seattle Meeting of the American Board."[2] The question here is, What does the word "portions" mean? Does it mean portions selected from a fuller text by a writer for the periodical? Or does it mean portions from a fuller text selected and read at the moment of delivery by the speaker himself? The second alternative would make considerable difference, and it is introduced because A. E. Dunning of the

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[1] Gladden, The New Idolatry, pp. 53-87.

[2] "Shall Ill-Gotten Gains be Sought for Christian Purposes: Portions of Dr. Gladden's Paper Read at the Seattle Meeting of the American Board," Congregationalist, XC (September 23, 1905), p. 411.

Congregationalist also attended the Seattle meeting and reported, "Dr. Gladden was the first speaker, presenting part of a printed paper he had prepared in advance."[1] (Italics the writer's.) There is no particular reason to doubt Dunning's report that only part of a prepared text was read by Gladden. But there is no way that the writer is aware of to ascertain what was selected from the text to be read and what omitted. It might be assumed that the portions reported in the Congregationalist[2] did not constitute all of the speech used on the occasion. For one thing, this condenses a speech of some 8488 words in The New Idolatry's[3] version, for example, to 1505 words. To reduce one's speech at the time of delivery by one-third or even by one-half might be acceptable, even desirable, but to reduce it by more than three-fourths seems improbable, especially when the occasion is as grave as this one was. More importantly, it should also be pointed out that in the report on the "portions," several connecting sentences and paragraphs, which put Gladden's ideas into other words are interlaced with extended quotations. For example:

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[1] A. E. Dunning, "The American Board at Seattle," XC (September 23, 1905), p. 410. None of the standard guides to manuscript collections lists either Dunning's or the Congregationalist's papers.

[2] "Shall Ill-Gotten Gains be Sought for Christian Purposes: Portions of Dr. Gladden's Paper Read at the Seattle Meeting of the American Board," Congregationalist, loc. cit.

[3] Gladden, The New Idolatry, loc. cit.

> Dr. Gladden proceeded to argue that one man's dollar is not as good as another man's; that if there can be consecrated money there can be "tainted money;" and that money in a very real and vital sense is a symbol, and has always been held so by the Church.
>
> The problem created by solicited gifts was next discussed:....[1]

This pattern suggests that there was much more text used than was actually reported in the Congregationalist, but there is no way by which we may confirm which portions of the full speech were given. During the investigation on this point, it was noted that the Seattle Times (designated as the "official" meeting newspaper) for September 16, 1905, carried a summary report of the speech.[2] A comparison of the sentences and paragraphs reported was made to see if they coincided with those of the Congregationalist. But this revealed that the report condensed the speech even further (to fewer than 700 words), and only a scant 100 words match sequences in the magazine's report.

Further book and periodical search revealed that the Seattle Post-Intelligencer for September 16, 1905,[3] carried a report of the speech; and, except for one extended portion which is omitted, the text it presents coincides exactly with that carried in Gladden's The New Idolatry. The omitted portion is several paragraphs long, as is indicated in the Appendix.

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[1] "Shall Ill-Gotten Gains be Sought...: Portions...," Congregationalist, loc. cit.

[2] Seattle Times, September 16, 1905.

[3] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 16, 1905.

There are 24 paragraphs omitted in one continuous section from the Post-Intelligencer's report. The Seattle Times for the same date quotes eleven of those omitted paragraphs in their entirety in its report of the speech. And the Congregationalist summarizes the substance of the omitted paragraphs in other words. Again there is evidence that there was some portion, or portions, of the text not presented, but no two reports agree on the substance of what was omitted. It was also discovered that an extended text had been accepted as authentic by Professor Handy of New York's Union Theological Seminary,[1] and his book, The Social Gospel in America: Gladden, Ely, and Rauschenbusch, 1870-1920, has now appeared carrying the text from The New Idolatry in toto.[2] In no instance did any book or periodical carry any attestation whatsoever to the effect that the text reported was indeed the text as delivered. The New York Times has, of course, become a notable source of such texts for speech scholars, but in this instance that publication did not choose to reprint the text of Gladden's Seattle speech.[1]

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[1] Robert T. Handy to the writer, November 24, 1965.

[2] Robert T. Handy, ed. The Social Gospel in America: Gladden, Ely, and Rauschenbusch, 1870-1920 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 119-134.

The next step was that of searching through the records of the American Board in Boston. There it was discovered that all that remains as official records of the meeting is a rather substantial volume containing all the reports and speeches of the officers of the Board and their scheduled guest speakers (Gladden excepted--he was not scheduled),[2] and a single file-folder containing several papers of varying degrees of relevance. Among the papers in the file was found a 16-page, 5" x 8" pamphlet bearing the imprint:

Shall Ill-Gotten Gains
be Sought
for Christian Purposes?
Prepared for Presentation to the American Board
of Foreign Missions, at its Meeting in
Seattle, Wash., Sept. 14 - 18, 1905.
by
WASHINGTON GLADDEN

It may be contended that this is a copy of what Gladden had in hand when he addressed the American Board. Several signs point in that direction.

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[1] All New York, Boston, Detroit, Columbus, Chicago and Seattle newspapers known to be publishing during the period covered by the American Board meeting were searched by this writer for reports of the speech.

[2] American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Annual Report, 1905 (Boston: Published by Order of the National Council, 1905). [This volume was also found in the library at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and in the library on the Campus of Oberlin College.]

One sign is that the pamphlet cited is in fact filed with the official minutes of the American Board for the year 1905. Another is that correspondence received by Gladden in September, 1905, just prior to the Seattle meeting, indicates that a document prepared by Gladden had been circulated by him among several of his supporters in order to receive the benefit of their criticism.[1] It is evident that whatever the substance of this document, it was prepared by Gladden and proposed as the remarks he intended to deliver at the meeting. Again, it could be assumed that the paper was circulated in printed form, and that a quantity was taken to Seattle in that same form. Another, more substantial sign, is that Dunning, in a detailed report of the meeting, says that, at the moment of delivery, "Dr. Gladden...produced his printed address, and after announcing that copies for free distribution were ready at the doors for those who wished, he read extended selections from it."[2] (Italics, the writer's.) One might assume that the copies distributed were the same as the one used by Gladden, and that one of these copies was taken by a clerk of the meeting for inclusion in the official file. Another sign is that the speech seems to have been in some form in quantity for some time after the meeting, as letters of appreciation for having received a copy of it are to be found in the Gladden Papers.[1] Another sign is that portions of the text reported in the newspapers differed little in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, or paragraph arrangement. It is as if each printer had a copy of the text before him as he set his type, as indeed he probably did. Again, one could easily assume that a busy reporter might take one of the pamphlets and simply hand it over to his printer for reproduction.

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[1] This correspondence is cited by Dorn, op. cit., pp. 335-336.

[2] A. E. Dunning, "The American Board at Seattle: The Spirit and Striking Features of the First Meeting Ever Held on the Pacific Coast," Congregationalist, XC (September 30, 1905), p. 446.

Years later, in an obituary notice on Gladden, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer says, "Dr. Gladden came to the Seattle meeting prepared to fight. He brought with him copies of the speech he intended to make and did make..." Seattle Post-Intelligencer, July 3, 1918. (Emphasis supplied.)

There is further evidence, perhaps circumstantial, of the authenticity of this text. In a letter to Gladden discussing the preparation of his (Gladden's) The New Idolatry, Ida M. Tarbell of McClure, Phillips and Co., wrote:

> You sent me under separate cover a copy of your Seattle speech and asked what I thought of putting it in the volume. I should do so by all means. You did not indicate the order in which you would like to have it go. Would it not be well to put it after Chapter 3rd, Standard Oil

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[1] Ida M. Tarbell to Gladden, October 10, 1905; George A. Gordon to Gladden, October 12, 1905; F. A. Ferris to Gladden, November 27, 1907.

> and Foreign Missions? It thus completes the documents of this particular discussion.[1]

Obviously, Gladden had sent Miss Tarbell what he identified for her as his Seattle speech. It may again be assumed that what he sent her did in fact appear as the section following "Chapter 3rd" in Gladden's The New Idolatry where it was, as has been indicated, identified as the "address before the American Board."[2] Thus, in sum, there is a pamphlet identified as Gladden's speech before the American Board in Seattle and contained in the official files of the Board's successor organization.[3] Also, there is a news report printed the day after the speech was given conforming exactly to the aforementioned pamphlet (except for the omission cited). And there is a volume authored by the speaker which contains a section noted as his Seattle speech. This section conforms exactly to both the text of the aforementioned pamphlet and the text of the news report. Related to the book's publication there is correspondence indicating that that which was printed appeared as it came from Gladden himself who implied that it was the text he delivered at Seattle before the Board.[1] It is also known that some item was available in quantity before, during, and after the speech --quite probably the speech text in pamphlet form.

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[1] Ida M. Tarbell to Gladden, October 10, 1905. [Miss Dorothy J. Smith, Manuscripts Librarian for Reis Library at Allegheny College where the Tarbell Papers are now deposited, reports that no correspondence from Gladden is in the collection. Interview, May 20, 1968.]

[2] The New Idolatry, loc. cit.

[3] A search of the American Board's official papers, recently transferred to the Houghton Library on Harvard University's campus, reveals no other document bearing upon Gladden's Seattle speech among the papers of those who were officers of the Board at the time the speech was given.

There is still no version of the text attested to as containing the exact words Gladden delivered at Seattle. Nor can the report of Dunning that only "extended selections" from the text were read be explained away.

As Thonssen and Baird state, "In practically all cases, critics are obliged to work with speech texts of questionable accuracy."[2] They continue, stating that the scholar's task is "to establish the best possible text through such processes of investigation and collation as may be open to him."[3] The writer has pursued the matter of a text for Gladden's speech at Seattle as best he knows how, and has chosen to accept as authentic the text from the files of the American Board. There being no apparent way for determining which portions may have been left out, or conversely, which portions actually were used (if indeed such was actually the case), it has been determined that the whole text as contained in the pamphlet should be used as the basis for this investigation.[1]

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[1] In an effort to discover what Gladden had actually sent to McClure, Phillips and Co., a contact was made with Doubleday Co., who many years ago took over the McClure, Phillips interests. Mrs. M. Morse, Assistant to the President at Doubleday, claims that no author's manuscripts are extant from the old McClure, Phillips organization. Interview, February 8, 1968.

[2] *Speech Criticism: The Development of Standards*, p. 311.

[3] *Ibid*.

Other speech texts referred to in this study (see bibliography and Appendix) were photo-copied from handwritten manuscripts contained in the Gladden Papers. All the copies of these manuscripts are now in the writer's possession, and, in his judgment, they were all written by the same hand that wrote the other fifteen hundred or so manuscripts in that collection. Either they are all from Gladden's hand, or none of them is.

How Gladden used his text will be one of the points covered in that which follows.

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[1] Of course, it is possible that Gladden did indeed read only portions, perhaps assuming that those who had received copies of the address ahead of time would have read it, while those who received it at the door could read it later. Although the writer fails to see the merit of having the text read after the address was made and a note taken.

CHAPTER III

THE SETTING OF THE SPEECH

"Eloquence must have its theatre," say Thonssen and Baird, and by "theatre" they mean all the circumstances, present, past, and pending, which might possibly shape the apprehension, and advance or retard the acceptance, of a speaker's presentation, and shape any decision he may request of his hearers. All of the circumstances provide a setting for a particular speech, the physical, intellectual and emotional impingments involved at the time the speech is given.[1] Among those circumstances which may have an effect upon the speaker-audience communication situation is that of the immediate physical surroundings in which a speech is given. The physical setting, according to Eisenson, Auer and Irwin, may have a significant effect upon audience behavior.[2]

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[1] Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 314.

[2] Jon Eisenson, J. Jeffery Auer, and John W. Irwin, The Psychology of Communication (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), p. 276, pp. 276-279. See also Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, op. cit., pp. 93-100.

A. The Plymouth Congregational Church
Seattle, Washington:

In the particular situation under study we have the speaker and his audience about to come together in a church "auditorium,"[1] to use a term that Gladden himself used when he spoke of the church rooms commonly called sanctuaries today.[2] The auditorium was that of the Plymouth Congregational Church, Seattle, Washington, the oldest and largest church of that denomination in the city.[3] Outside, the building appeared as "a stately red brick edifice with a lofty spire and two smaller towers, very churchly in appearance."[4] Inside, "the local committee had given considerable attention to decoration."[5] With its central pulpit backed by a huge choir loft over which soared ranks of organ pipes, and with its pews set in a semi-circular arrangement until the end seats in the front pews were almost off to either side of any speaker standing behind the sacred desk, and with all the woodwork done in what appears in photographs to be a dark varnish-stain, the auditorium had its counterpart in one size or another on practically any main corner in the land. However, it did not look at all like the typical Congregationalist white "Lord's barns"[1] that dotted the New England countryside a continent away.

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[1] A. E. Dunning, "The American Board at Seattle," Congregationalist, XC (September 30, 1905), p. 445.

[2] Gladden, The Christian Pastor and the Working Church, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), p. 24.

[3] Alice D. Rayner, The Path We Came By: A History of Plymouth Congregational Church, Seattle, Washington, 1869-1937, no. pub., no date, p. 35.

[4] *Ibid*. See Appendix for both exterior and interior photos of the Plymouth Church.

[5] Seattle Times, September 15, 1905.

It must have presented no small challenge to the decorations committee which had done their work in a style that was described as "Western in the profusion and brilliance of the lilies, hydrangeas, palms and other flowers and plants," which they had set about.[2] While one breathed in the "welcome fragrance"[3] which came from the flowers, he could let his eyes travel above the "rostrum"[4] over which the American flag was "draped effectively"[5] along with the "emblems" of China and Japan.[6] On the walls around the auditorium were placed maps of the world with special points of interest marked on them, and on the "platform" stood a "big globe."[7] "Auditorium," "rostrum,"

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[1] Marion T. Starkey, The Congregational Way: The Role of the Pilgrims and Their Heirs in Shaping America (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1966), p. 172.

[2] Dunning, loc. cit.

[3] Seattle Times, September 15, 1905.

[4] Ibid.; Dunning, loc. cit.

[5] Seattle Times, loc. cit.

[6] Dunning, loc. cit.

[7] Ibid.

"platform," these terms denoted a room in which public speaking was to be the order of the day. And the speaking could at this particular time be expected to have an unusual breadth of focus as there had been prepared "a fit platform for world work."[1]

B. The Annual Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions:

World work was indeed the concern of the meeting which was at hand, September 14-18, 1905, in Seattle's historic Plymouth Church, for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was holding its 96th annual meeting there. The American Board, with its history of world missionary work dating from 1811, and with its assemblage of official delegates which could number something a "little short of 500,"[2] was coming together to review its work for the year just past and to set a course for the year ahead.[3]

The agenda for those events was a matter of public knowledge as it was printed daily on the front pages of the local newspapers.[1] There were scheduled reports of Board officials and returned missionaries, and speeches no doubt designed to rekindle the "missionary spirit" in the hearts of the delegates. But for the annual meeting of the American Board in the year 1905 there was a significant "hidden" agenda, one that was not on any official document, but one which everyone concerned officially with the meeting was acutely aware of; one which the nation at large attended to with intense interest.

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] The two works on the American Board consulted for this study were: Fred Field Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1959); and William E. Strong, *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910).

C. The Events Peculiar to the Controversy Over The Acceptance of Rockefeller's Gift, With Emphasis Upon the Conflict Between Gladden and the Board:

The cause and course of what held the public's interest centered in a series of incidents, claims and counter claims, which had followed an action the Board's Prudential Committee (the largest and most powerful of the Board's Committees) had taken six months before in March. The events which followed the Prudential Committee's action are admirably reported by Dorn in his masterful thesis on the life of Gladden.[2]

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[1] Seattle Times and Post-Intelligencer both carried on their front pages daily agendas for the meeting; and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Annual Report, 1905, carries a full recounting of all official reports and speeches presented.

[2] Dorn, op. cit., pp. 304-344.

In the March 18, 1905, issue of the Congregationalist there appeared on the first inside page the following announcement under the heading, "Good News for the American Board":

> A gift of $100,000 has been made to the American Board by John D. Rockefeller. The whole amount is designated by him for five educational institutions carefully selected in Japan, Turkey, Bulgaria, India and Ceylon. A liberal sum is also to be applied to the publication work of the Board in Turkey.
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> . . . .
>
> It is earnestly hoped that this magnificent gift will encourage the supporters of the Board to increase their contributions in view of greater opportunities which will thus be opened. Mr. Rockefeller has made large donations annually to the Baptist Board of Missions but he desires to distribute his gifts in fields not reached by that society. This money is to go to institutions in parts of the world in which Baptists have no missions. This is the largest gift ever received by the Board from a living donor belonging to another denomination. It is a gratifying tribute to the excellent financial administration of our foreign missionary society as well as to the thoroughness and catholicity of its work.[1]

This announcement was not received with rejoicing by all. Washington Gladden was deeply disturbed by it, and his first publicized response to the announcement came in the form of a sermon preached before his own congregation in Columbus. On March 26 he took as his topic "The Religion of a Gentleman," and proceded to denounce the gift, its donor, and its acceptance. He said that the gift came from "a colossal estate whose foundations were laid in the most relentless rapacity known to modern commercial history." The donor, said Gladden, represented "more perfectly than anyone else, the system of brigandage by which our commerce has been ravaged for many years"; he had "taught the other plunderers most of what they know." What the man deserved most of all was strong denunciation from the forces at work for righteousness in the world, and it would be wrong for those very forces to take his money and at the same time censure him.[1]

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[1] Congregationalist, XC (March 18, 1905), p. 349.

Gladden then turned to the press, issuing a statement which was widely broadcast over the country. He directed a formal protest to the Prudential Committee, then immediately wrote an article on the subject to be printed in the Congregationalist.[2]

In his article, Gladden objected to the acceptance of the gift "because the money thus bestowed does not rightfully belong to the man who gives it; it has been flagitiously acquired, and all the world knows it." The facts could be found, he asserted adamently, in the reports of legislative commissions, judicial records, and in the writings of the better-known social commentators of the day.

At this point, the course of events took an unexpected turn. Up through the time his initial article appeared, Gladden had assumed that Rockefeller had sought out the American Board and asked it to accept his munificence. But in the very same issue of the Congregationalist in which Gladden's article appeared there appeared another beside it which revealed that the situation actually

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[1] Gladden, "The Religion of a Gentleman."

[2] Gladden, "A Dissenting View," Congregationalist, XC (April 1, 1905), p. 424.

> was that of a noble enterprise in its extreme need making its appeal to him [Rockefeller]. To that appeal he yielded, not in any way making the Board his partner, and not asking it to give him any approval.[1]

In other words, as the article explained, the gift had actually been sought through an agent of Rockefeller's who happened to be a member of a Congregational Church!

In his commentary on this turn of events, Dorn points out that in his biography of Rockefeller, Allan Nevins states that the controversy over "tainted money" (a term with which the debate came to be associated), "a three months' wonder," died away when the most excited participants found, to their chagrin, that the Board had actually solicited the money.[2] Dorn goes on to show that just the reverse occurred. The Prudential Committee's involvement gave the protestants (as Gladden and those associated with him in his opposition to the gift came to be called) an even stronger case than they had originally surmised. Even though they had to deemphasize their contention against the passive acceptance of gifts from morally questionable sources, their campaign took on an even greater intensity.[1]

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[1] Amory H. Bradford, "An Approving View," Congregationalist, XC (April 1, 1905), p. 424.

[2] Dorn quoting Nevins, op. cit., p. 319.

Says Dorn, "The controversy captured public interest and imagination to an amazing extent."[2] In Columbus, many of the clergy took up Gladden's cause. The press clearly supported him in the capital city, although the Congregationalist opposed the protestants nationally. Chicago's Congregationalist paper, the Advance, supported the protestants' position. Secular and religious journals and newspapers printed polls of opinion on the subject. Leading clergymen from around the nation took it upon themselves to comment. Charles H. Parkhurst of New York said that the issue was too complicated to resolve. He said:

> The view of the discussion which I wish to emphasize is the effect of the acceptance of such gifts on the moral view of the people in regard to dishonest money-getting. The importance of a public sentiment for good can be seen in our city here in the fact that, no matter how good the statutes may be, they can absolutely never be enforced beyond a certain point, if the public sentiment for good is low. However the Board of Foreign Missions decide, I believe they will decide honestly, and indeed, I can see the strength of the view that would commend the acceptance of the gift. We don't know how the widow earned her two mites, yet she brought to pass good by giving them to charity. The question is too involved for a categorical answer.[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Quoted in Congregationalist, XC (April 25, 1905), p. 425.

Robert S. McArthur, a Baptist clergyman, thought it was an insult to Mr. Rockefeller to question his generosity. McArthur said:

> I consider the step taken [by the protestants] nothing but an insult to Mr. Rockefeller's generosity, especially when one considers that Mr. Rockefeller is a Baptist. It is seldom that contributions are made by men to churches outside of their own creed, but when a man does so his gift should be looked upon as all the more valuable. Regarding what is said about Mr. Rockefeller and the source of his wealth, that is a question which it would be probably impossible to determine. If one were to question the manner in which every donor to the church makes his money there would be no more bequests.[1]

Charles E. Jefferson of New York's Broadway Tabernacle said that the money should be taken. He put it:

> It has never been the practice to investigate the manner in which money donated for church work is accumulated by the giver. The acceptance of the gift does not confer on the donor a certificate of good moral character. Mr. Rockefeller's money may or may not have been obtained honestly and legitimately. As to that there are contradictory opinions. But there is no doubt very great good can be accomplished with it. I certainly would accept it, and so, I believe, would the great majority of the clergy of any denomination.[2]

Jefferson summed it up well for the leading clergy. Russell Conwell of the Baptist Temple in Philadelphia said to take it, and so did Edward Everett Hale. Lyman Abbott also argued that the money should be accepted. It was unfortunate but true for Gladden that most of the prominent clergymen in the country appeared to oppose his viewpoint.[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Nevins quoted in Dorn, op. cit., pp. 319-321.

In his support there came hundreds of letters. And a very few clergymen of note did take up his cause. Among these were Josiah Strong, who was then president of the American Institute of Social Service, and Charles M. Sheldon, pastor of the Central Church in Topeka and author of the best-selling novel of the Social Gospel, In His Steps.[1] At least in the early stages of the controversy, however, it appeared that it was to be Gladden and a few followers against many high and mighty.

Soon it was announced by the Prudential Committee that the return of the gift was impossible because a large portion of it had already been forwarded to the mission fields for which it was earmarked.[2] However, Gladden continued his fight with articles in the Outlook, the International Quarterly, and the Independent, among other publications.[3] On the other side of it, the Prudential Committee, with a large portion of the denomination's communications apparatus at their disposal, had a real advantage, and they used it. In one lengthy reply to the protestants' criticism, the Committee reported that of 189 voluntary messages received from corporate members of the Board 164 wished to retain the gift, while only 25 wanted to return it.[1] Furthermore, Dunning of the Congregationalist temporarily closed the editorial doors of that publication to Gladden, explaining that he did not object to Gladden's expressing himself, but to his "assuming the leadership of a party in the denomination while Moderator of the National Council."[2]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 321-324.

[2] Congregationalist, XC (April 8, 1905), p. 465.

[3] Gladden, "Mr. Rockefeller and the American Board," Outlook, LXXIX, (April 22, 1905), pp. 984-987; Gladden, "The Church and Social Problems," International Quarterly, XI (April, 1905), p. 147; Gladden, "The Church and the Reward of Iniquity," Independent, LVIII (April 20, 1905), pp. 867-870; Gladden, "Mr. Rockefeller As a Truth Teller," Independent, LVII (June 8, 1905).

Dunning's temporary closing of the Congregationalist's pages to him probably came as no surprise to Gladden. No doubt he had become aware very early in the conflict of what one correspondent pointed out to him, that "the secular press is on your side and the religious press on the side of the Prudential Committee."[3] Much of the secular press did indeed seem to support Gladden's views. The Boston Transcript editorialized:

> Whatever may be the facts regarding the way in which the Rockefeller fortune has been amassed, this at least is clear: The church should stand four-square for the loftiest ideals and the highest standards of conduct in business and in politics. This is especially important at a time when various forces of corruption are menacingly conspicuous in American life.[4]

The New York Evening Post followed suit:

> If judgment is to begin anywhere, it should be at the house of God. And there can be no doubt that

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[1] Congregationalist, XC (April 22, 1905), p. 556.

[2] A. E. Dunning to Gladden, May 9, 1905.

[3] E. P. Salmon to Gladden, April 13, 1905.

[4] Congregationalist, XC (April 1, 1905), p. 425.

> if St. James were alive today and were to see or come into our churches many a man with a gold ring and goodly apparel, ostentatiously placing a large check on the plate when the collection for foreign missions was taken, he would put redoubled meaning into his injunction, "My brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect to persons."[1]

The *Philadelphia Press* said:

> The world likes to see the Church take high ground. Whatever the condition of its own hands may be, it requires clean hands of the representatives of religion. The refusal of Mr. Rockefeller's gift will not be too closely analyzed, but it will be regarded as a general reprobation of Standard Oil methods on the part of the Congregational denomination. And the Church which lives to serve mankind will not suffer in any particular for refusing to make even a remote and justifiable alliance with an agency which it believes is without scruple or moral restraint in the promotion of its selfish purposes.[2]

And the *Brooklyn Times* put it:

> If it comes to the point that the church depends upon the millionaires rather than upon divine Providence for its maintenance and extension, there is no need to search for any other reason to explain why it has lost the hold it once had upon the confidence of the people, and why revivals are a failure.[3]

As for the religious press, the *Congregationalist* closed its pages to Gladden, as noted, and the *Outlook* summed up, "The *Outlook* refuses to sit in judgment. . ."[4] The letter publication in summarizing a long report on the Prudential Committee's action said, "The moral positions as well as the official action of the Prudential Committee have our heartiest approval."[1] And the Congregationalist had already disposed of the cause of the protestants and discounted their methods, saying, "There are more universally applicable, more normal and more effective ways of curbing the money power in this country than by turning down Mr. Rockefeller's gift to the American Board."[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] "Judge Not," *Outlook*, LXXIX (April 8, 1905), p. 871; see further, "The American Board Is Not a Court," *Outlook*, LXXIX (April 15, 1905), pp. 923-924.

Although Gladden wrote intensely about the subject, his speaking on the topic up until the Seattle meeting was confined to two significant occasions. One was the sermon preached before his own congregation in Columbus, March 26, which we have already cited. And the other was an address presented before an assembly of protestants at the Young's Hotel in Boston on April 26. A manuscript text for that address is not among the Gladden Papers; however, it was reported at great length in newspapers the day after it was delivered.[3] Over that address an editorial in the Boston Herald rhapsodized:

> Every citizen who has not lost his sense of patriotic duty, every merchant and manufacturer who cherishes a faith that business and honesty are not incompatible, every follower of the lowly

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[1] "The Prudential Committee's ~~R~~eport," Outlook, LXXIX (April 22, 1905), p. 967.

[2] "Mr. Rockefeller's Gift to the Board," Congregationalist, XC (April 1, 1905), p. 422.

[3] Boston Evening Transcript, April 27, 1905.

> Nazarene who scourged the money changers out of the temple in Jerusalem, should read the powerful protest of Dr. Washington Gladden.... It is a prophet's call to righteousness and cleanness of Christian service,--clear, mighty, ennobling. It will go through the land calling a mercenary and luxurious generation to consideration of the fundamental principles of the right life and summoning the church of the day to orient itself in preparation for the mission to which it is called in the Twentieth century. Here is an evangelist, indeed. Beside him those that have been meekly essaying a revival of church religion appear to have missed the mark... He preaches a gospel that will save America from its besetting corruption, if it can be saved. He does not flinch from assailing as an enemy of Israel the arrogant Goliath of the Philistinism of the time.[1]

Actually, Gladden seems to have made it a point to keep the issue out of his pulpit where says Dorn, he never was one to ride a particular "hobby."[2] However, he did have copies of his Young's Hotel address placed in the pews of his members before the service, one Sunday morning during the controversy.[3] As a preface to his sermon that particular day Gladden reportedly said to his congregation:

> I have had a document placed in the pews this morning which I earnestly request all the members of this congregation to read. It refers to a matter upon which I have not said much to you because I have not thought that there was much need to speak. But it is a matter which is of very deep and vital importance, and one upon which I greatly desire that the judgment of the members of this church shall be sound and clear. Therefore, I ask, partly as a matter of justice to myself, that everyone of you take time to read deliberately and seriously and prayerfully what is printed on this paper.

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[1] Boston Herald, April 28, 1905.

[2] Dorn, op. cit., p. 347.

[3] Ohio State Journal, May 8, 1905.

> My only wish is that this church shall stand in this cause, and always, for the things that make for honesty and justice, for the honor of Christ's kingdom and the welfare of the nation.[1]

Were Gladden and the protestants gaining any significant ground? There were some scant evidences that they were achieving a measure of success. Notably, at least two state Congregationalist associations went on record in favor of Gladden's position. The powerful and influential Massachusetts association did not specifically refer to the gift in question, but it did call for "serious consideration" of the effects on public morals and on the church's influence as "a moral and spiritual leader" of financial dealings "with persons whose character and business methods are in serious question."[2] And the Ohio association adopted the Massachusetts overture, and took it one step further, condemning "all such methods of business men and business corporations as are working injustice, embittering classes, and destroying that confidence which is the foundation of all abiding prosperity."[3]

But the supreme arena of testing still lay ahead of Gladden: the autumn meeting of the American Board in Seattle. One of the few protestants who was a member of the Board (he was a Corporate Member of the American Board from 1888 until his death in 1918),[1] Gladden set his face toward that meeting; and, by late August, he had developed a statement which he succeeded in having published in the Congregationalist along with a resolution which he declared his intention of introducing at the Board meeting:

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Congregationalist*, XC (May 27, 1905), p. 712; Dorn, p. 334.

[3] *Congregationalist*, XC (June 3, 1905), p. 767.

> That the officers of this society should neither solicit nor invite donations to its funds from persons whose gains are generally believed to have been made by methods morally reprehensible and socially injurious.[2]

The die was cast.

D. The Expressions of Feeling on the Issue by Board Members Just Prior to the Meeting; the Immediate Stress Given the Issue by the Public Media:

Dunning, in one of his reports of the meeting, remarks that interest in the subject of the Board's relationship to men whose wealth had been gained by questionable means was "not fervid" among the officers and corporate members. They had, he reported, looked on all sides of the subject and had made up their minds on it. Their conclusion was "practically unanimous," he said, and we may assume that he meant that their conclusion was against Gladden's resolution.[1]

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[1] Mrs. Richard C. Ashenden, Jr., Acting Librarian, The United Church Board for World Ministries, to the writer, January 13, 1966.

[2] Congregationalist, XC (August 26, 1905), p. 276.

There may have been no fervid interest in the matter among the corporate members and their officers, but there was most certainly interest on the part of the general public. Even Dunning reports that the Seattle newspapers were "alert" to the subject and that they sent reporters to ask arriving members of the Prudential Committee and other Board members about it.[2] One of those the reporters interviewed upon his arrival in Seattle aboard the special train carrying some 193 Board members from the East was one G. Henry Whitcomb of Worcester, Massachusetts, Chairman of the Prudential Committee. After letting it be known that he would remain in Seattle for an indefinite period after the adjournment of the Board's meeting to give his personal attention to his "extensive property interests" in the city, and confirming the news that he would pass upon building plans before he returned to the East, he permitted himself to be drawn out on the issue of the gift, a subject he said he did not like to discuss. His reported remarks were brief and conclusive:

> I do not know what Dr. Gladden proposes to do. The incident is really closed, though of course the question can be brought up under the head of new business or can be interjected at almost any time. We are bound to consider any matter that is proposed, no matter how radical or how absurd it may be.

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[1] A. E. Dunning, "The American Board at Seattle," Congregationalist, XC (September 30, 1905), p. 446.

[2] Ibid.

> But everyone, almost, save Dr. Gladden, considers that matter settled. A canvass of the 300 members of the board showed a short time ago that 90 per cent of the members were opposed to Dr. Gladden's position. If he brings up the question it will be quickly disposed of.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

Other delegates interviewed were neutral to adamant in their statements. Samuel B. Capen, President of the Board, was besieged before the meeting by newspaper reporters and others to make a statement. But he refused, saying that his official position prevented him from taking part in the discussion, especially before the meeting. He avoided the direct question by claiming not to have mingled with the members of the Board sufficiently to judge whether or not the question would be brought up in such a manner as to compel the Board to dispose of it once and for all.[2]

A clergyman delegate, Henry Kingman, of Claremont, California, and a ten-year veteran missionary to China, stated that he favored indorsing the action of the Prudential Committee. But he also believed, he said, that in the future greater care should be taken in the selection of men from whom contributions to the Board's work would be solicited. He said:

> In the first place it must not be forgotten that the acceptance of the gift has already been made and the money expended. This precludes the possibility of rejection of the money, and, of course, has the

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[1] Seattle Times, September 14, 1905.

[2] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 15, 1905.

> effect of dismissing the subject from further consideration in so far as the actual money is involved. But the method of soliciting funds and the other points at issue in this controversy will probably be brought up during this meeting, and I heartily favor Dr. Gladden's attitude as to the future.[1]

Another clergyman, James H. Ross, of Boston, "press agent" for the Board, deprecated the efforts of the nation's press to make capital of the issue of the Rockefeller gift. Said he:

> It has been published broadcast that the so-called "tainted money" issue is to be the principal question for discussion before the meeting. As a matter of fact it is doubtful if the matter will be referred to other than in passing; at least it is not at all likely that it will consume much time of the board. It is a question devoid of all sensationalism other than that with which it is clothed by the press of the country, and I doubt if any members of the board appreciate the attempts to make it appear sensational.[2]

The pastor of the Plymouth Church, Minneapolis, stated that he was opposed to any further discussion of the Rockefeller gift. He said that he had implicit confidence in the Prudential Committee, and was quite willing to leave the problem in their hands. As he put it:

> In my opinion the Rockefeller gift should not be disturbed at this meeting. The question has been thoroughly threshed out, and there is nothing to gain by prolonging the agitation. The conduct of the Prudential Committee has been judicious throughout, while the agitators have been more zealous. I would not say that they have been sensational, nor would I wish to criticize them unjustly, but I think we are justified in placing

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

> our confidence in the Prudential Committee in the future as in the past.[1]

W. W. Ferrier, a clergyman and editor of The Pacific, "the oldest paper in California," favored acceptance of the gift and any others that might come from that direction. He claimed to have used his publication's columns in defense of the action of the Prudential Committee, and went on:

> I have always favored the acceptance of Mr. Rockefeller's gift, for the reason that it is impossible to distinguish as between gifts. If we set up such standards of discrimination, we stand to lose much money. Men who make such liberal donations to causes as this do not want the searchlight of publicity turned on them, and they are opposed to it. I think the action of the Prudential Committee in accepting the gift will be sustained if a vote is taken at this meeting.[2]

Another minister delegate interviewed was H. Melville Tenney from the Pacific coast. Since he was District Secretary of the Board for the San Francisco area, a position which brought him into constant contact with people on both sides of the issue, he felt that it would not be proper to give a statement.[3] But Chairman G. Henry Whitcomb freely volunteered to repeat what he had "frequently stated," that he had "always been an ardent advocate of accepting Mr. Rockefeller's money and more from like sources."[1]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

One interviewee came forth with a flat statement in support of Gladden. G. Gates, president of Pomona College, a Congregational insitution, said:

> My sympathies have been with Dr. Gladden. That his point is well taken has been acknowledged by a number of men who may be said to be directly interested in the problem. I refer to business men, captains of finance, if you please, who have studied the question. Out of this discussion will spring much good, and the effect cannot be anything but beneficial.[2]

But Gladden's most articulate supporter in these interviews was Philip S. Moxom, pastor of the South Congregational Church, Springfield, Massachusetts, and a protestant with Gladden from the beginning. Moxom stated simply that he had not had occasion to change his attitude on the subject. Then he went on:

> To my mind the question has been largely exaggerated. The protest did not mention "tainted money," and the phrase was coined as an exaggeration. In signing the protest we took cognizance of the fact that the Standard Oil Company was under indictment in about fourteen different states on a criminal charge, and that John D. Rockefeller was the head and brains of this great corporation. It seemed to me that it was wholly wrong to solicit money from such a source, and I still think so. No matter what the outcome of this may be, I believe the tendency of the controversy has been to raise the standard of ethics in such matters, and that the board will be more careful in the future when it solicits contributions to carry on this Christian work. Sentiment is largely with the protestants in the matter. On the train I received a letter suggesting that the money be returned to Mr. Rockefeller, the writer offering to contribute to the

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*

> best of his ability to refund the sum to the board, now that the money has been spent. Similar letters have been received from time to time, and most of them have contained propositions to assist in raising a fund to pay back the $100,000. That the incident should have developed a sensational phase is to be regretted. Certain it is that the signers of the protest did not contemplate any such noteriety.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

Thus, on the basis of published interviews, the predisposition of most of those arriving for the meeting seemed to be that all discussion of the subject should be kept to a minimum, if not eliminated altogether. One news report stated flatly that "among the special train party there was no sentiment in favor of Dr. Gladden's position."[2] Even the protestants appeared to be somewhat reluctant to have the issue brought up again. The general feeling among all was that the agitation that had gone on already had had whatever beneficial effect it was going to have, that it was now nearly impossible to conceive of missionary and church organizations accepting contributions in the future from sources whose ethics were in question.

But even though it was apparently almost unanimous among the delegates that the issue should not be raised at all at the meeting, there were two factors at work which made it practically certain that it would be uppermost in everyone's mind, if not on his lips. One of these was the extensive coverage given the subject by the newspapers.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Seattle Times, September 14, 1905.

They did not fail to point out the possibility, indeed the probability, of confrontation over the issue between Gladden and the Prudential Committee at the annual meeting of the Board. The other factor was The Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden himself. He had made it clear that he would do all within his power to push the issue through to a decision.

From coast-to-coast, news stories announced the meeting and the promise of conflict it offered to the American reading public. The attention the Seattle papers gave the meeting and its potential for verbal pyrotechnics was representative of what was said across the nation. (Although it must be admitted that proximity probably lent intensity to the coverage.) As early as September 10, 1905, one local paper began its series of reports on the impending meetings with a page-one headline: "Experts on Foreign Missions to Gather Sept. 14-18." Within the body of this first story the officers of the Board were identified with a long list of credentials and accomplishments given for each. When the writer came to the name of "Secretary James L. Barton, D. D., former missionary," he launched immediately, "Dr. Barton secured the donation of $100,000 by Mr. Rockefeller last year..." The fact that the donation had been challenged, the reasons advanced for not returning it, and a recapitulation of the controversy were then given. And then the sentence appeared, "It is believed that the great majority of the board will be recorded during the Seattle meeting as favoring the reception of all gifts that are liable to be offered,...."[1] On September 12 a page-one story on the Board's imminent meeting managed to avoid mention of the controversy, restricting itself to reporting Congregationalist statistics, and incidentally pointing out that there were 17 churches of that denomination in the city with a combined membership of over 3,000. But on the inside cover page of that edition the lead editorial was headed, "Tainted Money Discussion," and it reasoned that "the board should at the present session make its ruling on the subject clear, precise and definite." Although, it predicted, "Dr. Gladden, with his positive convictions, his great sincerity, and his capacity for clear and cogent reasoning, will continue his fight, no matter what may be the result of the present debate."[2] Under the headline, "Programme for Missionary Board," another page-one story on September 13, 1905, traced through the order of events for the days ahead without comment, until Friday the 15th's morning schedule, then a report due from the Prudential Committee was noted with the comment, "it is probable that the discussion on 'tainted money' will be precipitated at that session."[3] On the 14th, a page-one headline read,

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[1] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 10, 1905.

[2] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 12, 1905.

[3] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 13, 1905.

"Officers and Members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Meet in Seattle Today;"[1] but another headline simply read, "Will Probably Decide to Take All 'Tainted Money' They Can Get," and the story beneath explained that the headline had something to do with the Board meeting in Seattle that day.[2] And, on the same day, the boldest headline of all read, "Board of Missions Begins Its 96th Annual Meeting;" and beneath that line came an explicit, "Dr. Gladden Has No Chance of Winning."[3] The challenge to the Board and its Prudential Committee on the issue raised by the Rockefeller gift was first in the press, and possibly first in the minds of the laymen, but, most importantly, it was certainly first in the heart of Washington Gladden.

E. Factors Surrounding Gladden's Arrival in Seattle: Attempts to Deter Him; His Determination To Go On In Spite Of The Opposition's Apparent Strong Commitment:

There was mystery and an element of drama in Gladden's arrival in Seattle. This was caused in part by Gladden's failure to arrive on the 14th as a passenger on the "official" train from the East, with its 193 corporate members and delegates aboard. He had been invited to ride it by the District Secretary and General Agent of the American Board, who wrote stating that Gladden could join the party at Cleveland for $103.00, round-trip fare, or at Chicago for $85.00. The invitation expressed the hope that Gladden was planning to attend the Board's Annual meeting, and stated that the sender personally would be especially pleased if Gladden would join his "New York party" on their special car.[1] There is no reason reported by Gladden as to why he did not choose to travel with the official party; however, it may be surmised from the report he gave his congregation upon his return that he greatly enjoyed his train trip along another route.[2]

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[1] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 14, 1905.

[2] Seattle Star, September 14, 1905.

[3] Seattle Times, September 14, 1905.

The scenery along the way especially captivated him, and his description of it runs to nearly nine typewritten pages in transcription. He described the beauty of the mountain ranges, the problems and promise which lay in attempting to irrigate the remote dry regions, and the impressions of vastness and potential he received along the way. He drew a lesson from all this and put it this way for his listeners:

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[1] C. C. Creegan to Gladden, June 22, 1905.

[2] Gladden, "A Long Journey and a Lively Debate," sermon, September 24, 1905, Gladden Papers.

> Such glimpses as one may get in such a journey are inspiring and solemnizing; it takes your breath away to think of what may be; it makes you feel that everything which concerns the social life or the moral life of this nation is of vast significance; it makes you tremble to think of the mischief that may be done by the perversion of men's thoughts and the lowering of their ideals respecting the great things of conduct and character; it makes you wish for a thousand tongues to bear witness to the truth you know and ten thousand lives to give to the service of the Kingdom.[1]

Gladden may have taken a different route from that of the Easterners, but he enjoyed it all the way.

Gladden's failure to arrive on the official train provided an opportunity for speculation which was not missed. Was he too proud, or too angry, to be associated with his brethren? It was pointed out that he did not make application for passage aboard the special train, and, it was stated, "so far as the party from the East knew _he did not want_ to make the cross-country journey _with the New Englanders_."[2] (Emphasis supplied.) A newspaper reporter pointed out that it was certainly true that "Dr. Gladden was not in Seattle this morning [of the 14th], or if he was, he did not make himself known to the Congregationalist reception committee."[3] Some, according to one newspaper report, speculated that Gladden's failure to arrive with the delegation from the East was a sign that he had lost hope in his fight.[1] And then there were those who felt that even if he did come, he would not pick up the cudgel against the Prudential Committee's position; he would "allow his fight to go by default as soon as he realizes the strength of the sentiment against his position."[2]

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[1] _Ibid._

[2] _Seattle Times_, September 14, 1905. (As Gladden points out in "A Long Journey and a Lively Debate," the _Times_ was in strong alliance with Chairman Whitcomb of the Prudential Committee who had considerable land interests in the Seattle area, and its reports were not particularly cordial to Gladden and the protestants at the outset of the meeting.)

[3] _Ibid._

As a matter of fact, for whatever reason, Gladden did not arrive in Seattle until the late evening of the 14th; and when he did arrive, it was not in a mood of defeat. Rather, his mood was one of anticipation of the events that lay ahead; and nothing in the local climate of opinion did anything to change his mind. Upon his arrival, he went into immediate conference with his "intimate friends" until "a late hour."[3] A report has it that, when Gladden came into the conference, he immediately declared his intention to carry the fight into the Board. This announcement "created consternation among the majority," and they "taxed every resource at their command to persuade him to recede from his position." But Gladden replied that he could not personally maintain good conscience while participating in the sessions without expressing himself on this issue which related to so much that was "vital to the underlying principle of Christianity."[1]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 15, 1905.

It was then pointed out that Gladden and his followers were in a "hopeless minority," and this was underscored by Charles R. Brown, well-known pastor of an influential Congregational Church in Oakland, California. It was felt among some that Gladden was counting quite heavily upon Brown for support in the meeting. After all, Brown had taken a stand with the protestants in an article published only a few days earlier.[2] In one passage he wrote:

> These repeated references to the "offering of gifts" [made by the Prudential Committee] might bring before the mind of the outsider a picture of Mr. Rockefeller humbly walking up Beacon Street, Boston, with his hundred thousand dollars in a little basket, and upon reaching "No. 14" [the Board's address] of his modestly climbing the stairs to the seventh floor, and then at the door of the office of the American Board, of his timidly inquiring if he could be allowed to "offer" the Board the contents of the basket.
>
> This would be an affecting situation, and the embarrassment of the officers of the Board, reluctant but graciously considerate, in the face of such a contingency, makes strong appeal to our sympathies. But when we reflect upon the fact that the gift in question was solicited by the officers of the Board and that the diplomatic negotiations leading up to the securing of it extended over a space of almost two years, it would seem as if these persistent references to the "offering of gifts" must be taken in a Pickwickian sense.[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Quoted in Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 3, 1905.

[3] Ibid.

Brown promised to be a strong and articulate colleague for Gladden in the struggle which apparently lay ahead. Unfortunately, coincident with his perceiving that Gladden was not to be dissuaded from his intentions, Brown left that very night for his home in Oakland, called there by "unspecified church business."[1] One of the local papers commented rather crudely upon Brown's departure as follows: "Leaving town as he did, it is believed by other members of the board Dr. Brown chose to desert Dr. Gladden rather than stand with a minority too weak to be noticed."[2]

What Gladden had said to his friends who pointed out their minority position was that the fight at hand was based upon principle; and to let the opportunity go by without protesting would in effect give consent to the Board's actions and hence silence any future protest, should circumstances call for it.[3]

Exactly what form the protest at hand would take Gladden would not say for publication when pressed by reporters that late evening. He simply said:

> I am tired out, having been traveling all day. I have made up my mind not to say a word on the subject of Mr. Rockefeller's gift to the board save to my intimate friends until I go into the convention. I do not want to make a statement.[4]

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[1] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 15, 1905.

[2] Seattle Times, September 15, 1905.

[3] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 15, 1905.

[4] Ibid.

Gladden was apparently fully aware of the nature of the situation he faced, one in which opinions were unfriendly to his purpose. He was also aware that at least one of the local newspapers was opposed to him. He felt that the remarks it printed about his mission and himself were "very uncomplimentary and contemptuous."[1] A former newspaper reporter and editor himself, Gladden must have had some deep feelings about this kind of opposition.

In later reflecting upon the situation, he admitted that he went to Seattle with "no expectations,... that I could get my resolution adopted."[2] He was certain that the majority of the corporate members who would be present were committed against it.[3] But what appears to have been a profound sense of inner commitment to the importance of the issue took him with speech in hand to Seattle to contend for his cause.

There, in spite of claims to the contrary, interest in the subject overshadowed practically every other concern in the public's view of the meeting. The press and rumor had done their work well. There seemed to be a powerful compulsion abroad to address one's self to the issue in some way. In fact, when the venerable Samuel M. Freeland, at the time supplying the pulpit of

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[1] Gladden, "A Long Journey and a Lively Debate."

[2] Gladden, Recollections, p. 407.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 408.

Plymouth Church, got to his feet as the welcoming speaker at the first session of the meeting he apparently could not avoid a thinly-veiled reference. He was barely launched into his welcoming speech when he said:

> I read in the constitution of this body that it is ordered that at least one-third be respectable laymen and at least one-third be respectable clergymen. So well has this body maintained its respectability that in all the many years I have been honorary member and a frequent attendant at its meetings I have never dared to lift my voice except once to make a subscription from my church to a debt; it was thirty years ago. And the question is asked how can anybody not respectable offer or be asked to give money to our work.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

The speaker immediately shifted to another theme, no audience reaction is recorded, neither is any comment offered by the reporter, but the intent of the reference appears clear to this writer. It is submitted as an evidence of the compulsive atmosphere which prevailed. This is the situation into which Gladden came.

One of the many cartoons relating to the controversy pictured Gladden, sword in hand, in crusader's garb, and astride a charger, leading an army with standards inscribed, "For God and Humanity," against a medieval castle, atop whose parapets flew banners with dollar signs on them.[2] On this Dorn comments, "While Gladden did not entertain so quixotic an interpretation of his cause, he realized that he must carry his protest to the final arbiter of missionary policy, the full council of the American Board."[1]

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[1] Ohio State Journal, April 9, 1905.

[2] Ibid.

F. The Emphases of the Addresses Preceding Gladden's in The Meeting:

It would be inaccurate to state that the regular purposes and procedures of the annual meeting of the American Board were lost sight of in Seattle in 1905. That was decidely not the case. The local press heralded the meeting, and one editorial writer expressed with pride the fact that his particular paper (The Seattle Times) had been selected as the Board's "official" paper during the course of its five-day meeting. He asserted that "because of the importance of this Board, and the fact that it handles nearly one million dollars annually for the maintenance and extensions of missionary work, the body to gather here will be most representative." And again he put it: "It is almost unnecessary to say that the body that will assemble in this city next Thursday will be the most representative and distinguished of any similar body in America, as this Board is the oldest."[2]

Another paper proudly announced on its front page, the day before the meeting was to begin, that "the programme as prepared by the committee in charge is given to the public exclusively through the Post-Intelligencer."[1] Following are the announced items which would provide the immediate context for Gladden's speech, through the afternoon of the second day (September 15) when the speech was given:

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[1] Dorn, op. cit., p. 336.

[2] Seattle Times, September 10, 1905.

> Thursday afternoon, September 14, 2 o'clock--Devotional service; address of welcome, Rev. S. M. Freeland, of Seattle; response by the president of the board, Samuel B. Capen, LL. D., of Boston; reading of the material parts of the minutes of the last meeting by the recording secretary, Rev. Henry A. Stimson, D. D., of New York; appointment of committees by the president; report of the treasury department, Frank H. Wiggin, esq., treasurer; report of the auditors; annual survey of all the missions of the Board, Secretary James L. Barton, D. D.; address by a missionary.
>
> Thursday evening, 7:30 o'clock--Devotional service; the Appeal of the North China mission; addresses by Secretary Judson Smith, D. S.; Rev. George D. Wilder of Tungcho; Rev. Henry Kingman, of Claremont, Cal.
>
> Friday morning, 9 o'clock--Devotional service; reading of minutes; report of the committee on the treasury department, Lewis A. Crossett, esq., of Boston; report of the home department; address from the Prudential Committee, Secretary C. H. Patton, D. D.; addresses by Assistant Secretary H. W. Hicks, Miss Alice S. Borwne, under appointment to North China; President George A. Gates, D. D., of Claremont, Cal.
>
> Friday afternoon, 2 o'clock--Devotional service; miscellaneous business; report of committee on new corporate members, Rev. C. H. Daniels, D. D., chairman; election of corporate members and officers.[2]

Thus everything was in readiness for the meeting. The official historian of the local host Plymouth congregation was to report that in the "fall of 1905 all the resources of the organization were taxed to entertain the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who had chosen Seattle as their meeting place."[1] The large, well-decorated auditorium was "filled" at 2:00 p.m. on Thursday, the 14th of September, when President Capen opened the session, and, reported one observer, "never has a better looking, more intelligent and interested company sat down to the annual business of foreign missions of Congregationalists than those who filled the auditorium of Plymouth Church."[2]

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[1] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 13, 1905.

[2] Ibid.

Plymouth's supply pastor, Mr. Freeland, was introduced to give the welcoming address we have already alluded to; and then the Board's President Capen arose to give his response, during the course of which he articulated the theme that was to run through the speeches and reports presented during the meeting: The missionary work of the Board was everywhere a great success, but it was kept from its fullest greatness by a lack of funds. As he put it:

> It is the success of the American Board which furnishes its most difficult problem and we need to interest more of our men and women in foreign missionary work. The church grows slowly in this country because so many Christians are indifferent at this point. Our inadequate support of foreign missionary work reacts and hinders our own growth. What does the world think of the Christianity of a man who gives $1 for foreign missions and $2 for

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[1] Alice D. Raynor, op. cit., p. 66.

[2] A. E. Dunning, op. cit., p. 445.

> a necktie and $3 for a choice seat at an evening entertainment? We shall never have the great religious awakening for which so many are praying and longing until we get out of our selfishness and put in our money until it means something of a sacrifice.[1]

Secretary Barton then gave his annual report on the world-wide state of the Board's missionary effort. He began grandly:

> The sun never sets upon the work of the American Board. When it is midnight at Boston, the headquarters of the Board, mission work is in full swing in the missions of Eastern Turkey, India, Ceylon, Micronesia and the Phillipines, and it is the next day with them all. In Constantinople, Western Turkey, Africa, and Bulgaria, the missionaries are only just getting to work, on the following morning, while in Japan and Micronesia the next day's work is largely done before the calendar day even begins in Boston. At Honolulu the previous day is just closing when midnight is passing at Board headquarters. The most extended activities abroad occur when the Boston offices are closed and less missionaries are at work during the busiest days at headquarters.
>
> The active, aggressive work of the American Board never ceases for a single moment. It is always within two hours of noon at one or more centers of the operations of this board somewhere in the world.[2]

Then he took the delegates on a verbal tour of the Board's world work, touching in order upon the missionary enterprises in Eastern Turkey, India and Ceylon, Japan, the "Papal Lands," Spain (and Mexico), Western Turkey, Central Turkey, Micronesia, South China, North China, and Zulu territory. In almost every instance, when he described the work in a particular place, he would also mention some financial aspect of it. In East Turkey, for example, he said:

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[1] Seattle Times, September 15, 1905.

[2] Ibid.

> Last year the people themselves gave for the support of Christian educational and missionary operations 312,777 piaster, or $12,511.
>
> For every dollar the American Board gives for the support of the general work in that mission, the people give two dollars.[1]

In India and Ceylon:

> The people themselves in these countries paid last year for the support of the church and their schools, for medical work, and for literature which they purchased, $34,727. We cannot speak of these features without calling attention to the fact that in those countries the average wage of a common workman is not more than ten cents a day.[2]

In "Papal Lands":

> The 1,647 church members of the Austrian mission last year gave in their poverty upon an average $3 each for the support of their own Christian work and for missionary operations abroad. This was as much as the American Board gave for the support of the twenty-three churches.[3]

In Mexico:

> While the number of communicants in our mission churches in Mexico now reaches only 1,229, there was contributed last year by the Mexican Christians $10,917 for the support of Christian education and the Christian Church.[4]

In South China:

> The board's entire grant for general work is only $1,000; in no mission does the amount of work sustained for such a sum exceed that in this field. The gifts from Chinese Christians in this country do much to supplement this slender gift from the board for this work.[5]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

And so his report went, never straying far from the suggestion that if this much was being accomplished on what was being provided at the time in terms of dollars and cents, the delegates should think of how much more could be accomplished if financial support were increased.

Later, during the evening meeting on the 14th, George D. Wilder of Tungcho, gave his plea for North China's needs, lamenting that for too long his special interest area had been kept on the same constricting budget:

> For twelve years this same fixed sum of $7,300 has been given annually for a growing work. This fixed sum for general work is an iron vase for a living oak. It is an impossible condition. The vase must burst or the oak will die.[1]

On Friday morning H. W. Hicks, Assistant Secretary to the Board, came directly to the point in his very first sentences:

> There is grave danger that Congregationalists may become satisfied with the present rate of giving to foreign missions. Such a danger appears whenever past achievement alone furnishes the ideal for future endeavor and not the rights of those to receive the gospel for whom we labor and who cannot have knowledge of the Gospel of Christ unless we send messengers to convey it.[2]

His theme was again that of the successful effort that could be ever so much more so, if only greater financial resources were made available to it. Hicks' intricate reasoning processes must have amazed his listeners.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Seattle Times, September 16, 1905.

To wit:

> It cannot be denied that the great majority of accessions to church membership in our denomination is made by self-supporting churches, and not home mission churches. For this reason self-supporting churches are the strongest evangelizing force in home mission endeavor. Adding the 74.3 per cent of expenditures of last year on home churches to the 19 per cent of expenditures through our distinctively home missionary societies, so-called, we learn that we spent $3.91 for each one of the persons legitimately estimated to be within the portion of our population for whom Congregationalists are responsible, while on the 75,000,000 in the non-Christian world for whom our Congregational missions and missionaries are in like manner responsible, guided and energized by the Spirit of God, we spent last year but 9 and 9-10 mills per capita.[1]

"What must be done?" Hicks asked rhetorically; and his answer was increase the rate of giving for missions from its level of $1.07 per member per year to $6.82 per member per year.[2] In other words, the level of giving to missions had to be increased by something more than 500 per cent!

Even though all the presentations seemed to have the same thread running through them, at least one observer was favorably impressed with the way in which they were delivered. He noted that instead of reading formal reports from printed texts, the officers "made addresses which presented the facts of popular interest and kept the audience in attendance to the close." In fact, all the secretaries "laid aside their formal reports and presented the substance of them in succinct and impressive summaries with apt illustrations."[1]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

But the speakers did not lose sight of the nature of the audience to whom they were speaking. As a newspaper reporter put it, after observing the group at work for a time, "Their appearance, collectively and individually, suggests a meeting of hard working, earnest, thoughtful business men, bent on the accomplishment of some object fraught with great import to each and every person present."[2] And then he went on in more detail to illustrate what he had in mind:

> That this body of men are earnest, thoughtful and hard working is seen at a glance, and that they are business men is also borne out by the prompt dispatch of business brought before them for transaction. And that they are bent on the accomplishment of some object fraught with great import is evidenced by the fact that they are responding to the command of the Master, "Go ye and disciple [*sic*] all nations."[3]

The speakers may also have been impressed with the presence of so many business men, and with the atmosphere the presence of these commercial leaders seemed to create. At least one observer was evaluated a speech he heard in terms of the presumed special interests of the audience. The speech was on the work in China, and the reporter said that the speaker

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[1] A. E. Dunning, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, September 15, 1905.

[3] *Ibid.*

> described the situation, the work and present results of our mission, showing by tabulated statements how the missionary efforts are blocked by insufficient appropriations and repeated reduction of allowances. He made it so plain that the enforced economy is wasteful of investments, of missionaries, native converts trained for service and money, that _no_ _business_ _man_ interested in missions in China could doubt the imperative necessity of the additional $7,700 asked for.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

Thus the meeting was on its way, with an air about it of accomplishment in the face of need, but also with an air of crisp, no-nonsense dispatch. The business at hand was missions, or, rather, the financial support of missions, and there was no room for introducing subjects other than that, much less issues which appeared to conflict with it.

Perhaps the capstone on the structuring of the meeting's interests around the need for funds, and the means by which they might be gained, came appropriately enough in the form of the Treasurer's report, also given Thursday evening, the 14th. Among other items it was noted that $55,000.00 of Mr. Rockefeller's gift had been received and dispatched into the educational and institutional work toward which it had been pledged. However, this amount did not count in the regular operating budget of the Board which reported a deicit for the year of $156,472.97![2] Mr. Rockefeller's gift, and the contention centering around it notwithstanding, the Board's work was alarmingly in the red, and something had to be done about it. Thus Chairman Whitcomb of the Prudential Committee could justify bypassing the question raised by Gladden and get on to what he considered a much more important one, namely, how were they going to be able to keep the missionaries at work in the field when the budget was in such dire condition?[1] He put it squarely, and in doing so perhaps summed up the chief concern of the delegates:

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[1] A. E. Dunning, _loc. cit_.

[2] _Seattle Times_, September 15, 1905.

> One of the most important questions that will come before us is the question of the maintenance of foreign missions. We have something like 600 in the field and the board must decide whether we are to continue all of them, expand or reduce the number. We had a deficit of something like $150,000.00 at the end of the fiscal year, and the question of financing the mission work will have to be determined.[2]

It was to be a businessman's business meeting on the debits and credits of missionary work.

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[1] Seattle Times, September 14, 1905.

[2] Seattle Times, September 14, 1905.

CHAPTER IV

AN ANALYSIS OF GLADDEN'S IMMEDIATE AUDIENCE

A. A Note on the Subject of Audience Analysis:

To a greater or lesser extent, speech textbooks suggest that the speaker should devote time and energy to gathering information about the audience he expects to face and to sifting that information for the cues which might tell him how best to construct his speech. Some more recently-published textbooks may be cited in support of this point.

Baird and Knower devote the better part of eight pages of their textbook to this topic. They admonish: "if communication is to be more than target practice in the dark, we must analyze our audience and adapt the methods and materials according to our findings."[1]

Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell place this warning near the beginning of their discussion of what is generally termed audience analysis:

> The speaker who presents his speech without considering his audience has very little chance of getting his message across; and few speakers can rely on that little chance alone for their effectiveness.

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[1] A. Craig Baird and Franklin H. Knower, General Speech: An Introduction (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1963), p. 106.

> Therefore, the wise speaker will want to know as much about his audience as he can, so that, if necessary, he can adapt his materials--and himself--to the people with whom he wants to communicate.[1]

They suggest that the process of analyzing an audience might be conveniently structured under two general headings: "the speaker and the occasion," and "the listeners and their attitudes." Under "the speaker and the occasion" they offer these items of advice:

> _Study your subject in the light of the probable reaction to it_.... _Find out about your previous reputation with this group_.... _Study the place where you are to speak_.... _Know the purpose of your speech_.... _Know the purpose of the gathering_.[2]

Under "the listeners and their attitudes" they offer several more suggestions:

> _Try to find out the profession of your audience_.... _Find out what you can about the previous social conditioning of your listeners_.... _Learn of the religious beliefs of your listeners_.... _Know something about the interests and hobbies of your listeners_.... _Find out what your listeners read_.... _Find out about the predominant physical characteristics of your audience_.... _Study the physical appearance and actions of your listeners_.[3]

The authors then go on to say that the speaker should consider all the facts he can come up with under these various headings, try to classify his audience on the basis of what he has found into one of several categories they suggest, and then proceed to adapt his speech (not forgetting that there might be some self-adaptation required of the speaker himself) to the audience.[1]

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[1] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, _op. cit_., p. 108.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 108-117.

[3] _Ibid_., pp. 117-122.

Ellingsworth and Clevenger[2] also stress audience analysis, placing their recommendations in a behavioral-science context. They attempt such analysis with some hesitancy, they say, because of the fact that "we find that individual auditors within the same audience differ from one another as much as one audience differs from another."[3] The ultimate validity for the process of audience analysis, they state, is founded upon two considerations: (1) There is usually an extent to which the members of an audience are likely to be similar to one another; and (2) these similarities may very well be important in determining whether alternative forms of the message contemplated by the speaker will differ in their effects upon the audience.[4] In two chapters some recommendations are made for analyzing audiences.[5] Although they are not as well-annotated at their point of recommendation as one might wish, the suggestions are made following more general discussion which may be based upon sound research. In one place they acknowledge that

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[1] Ibid., Chapter 7, especially pp. 108-122.

[2] Ellingsworth and Clevenger, loc. cit.

[3] Ibid., pp. 106-107.

[4] Ibid., p. 108.

[5] Ibid., Chapter 5, "Analysis of Audience and Occasion: The Immediate Social Context," and Chapter 6, "Analysis of Audience and Occasion: Relevance of Roles," pp. 128-145.

> applied audience analysis is regarded as something of an art. It is not now possible to reduce the art to a rigorous scientific basis, *but it is possible to identify certain questions as logical starting points for analysis*.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

Some of these questions are:

> *What is the activation level of the audience?* .... *What purposes are practical for this audience?*.... *What taboos and formal requirements must be observed?*.... *What other groups are relevant to the auditors' response to this speech?*.... *What conventional beliefs and values will apply?*.... *What factors will operate to affect the long-range outcome of the speech?*[2]

In another section on the analysis of audience and occasion, Ellingsworth and Clevenger discuss the "relevance of roles."[3] The authors explain what they mean by the word *role* as follows:

> As a group member, an individual is cast in a particular *role*; that is, he occupies a position in the group such that he and his fellow members anticipate that he will behave predictably under certain circumstances.[4]

To illustrate, practically everyone is consciously a member of one or more groups. This may mean that he is a member of the Ku Klux Klan or of the Methodist Church, or that he is a father in a family. In each one of these associations he is aware of self- and group-expectations regarding the role he has to play when it is called for. For example, as a father he is provident, moral, and interested in children. The authors go on to state that one may be expected to conform to his role expectations, that is, what he expects of himself and what others may expect of him in that role, as follows:

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[1] *Ibid*., pp. 114-126.

[2] *Ibid*.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 128, pp. 128-145.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 129.

> One can respond only to those role prescriptions and expectations of which he is aware at the time. Unknown or unrecognized expectations cannot influence behavior.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Role will have its most profound effect upon that behavior which the individual perceives to be related to the group in which the role is held. For instance, a Methodist behaves most characteristically like The Methodist in church or in the presence of other Methodists.
>
> . . . . .
>
> An individual can be predicted to engage in behavior characteristic of a role only when the role has been invoked. ... When a given set of circumstances comes to elicit a characteristic pattern of behaviors for an individual, then for that individual those circumstances may be said to invoke the role described by those behaviors.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Once invoked, a role may exert a powerful influence over the individual occupying it, so that he behaves in accordance with the role even though he would otherwise prefer not to do so.[1]

It should be understood that an individual may identify strongly with more than one role. He may thus find himself in a situation where a certain behavior is required. That behavior may be suitable for the role he is playing within the group present, but a stronger loyalty to another group which expects him to play a role excluding the recommended behavior may cause him to tend to reject the proposed behavior. The authors put it thusly:

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 133-135.

> Sometimes a single set of circumstances ["circumstances" may include a speaker's presentation] invoke two roles simultaneously; that is, the individual is aware of "having a responsibility" to two reference groups at the same time. When the individual perceives that the role expectations of the two groups support the same behavior, that behavior is facilitated. If on the other hand the roles conflict, then a state of tension exists until the conflict can be resolved.

It is, so the authors state, the speaker's task to so analyze his audience that he will be aware of the role expectations which predominate and then appeal to them, or, perhaps, so define and elevate an appeal to a behavior compatible with a role at the moment less dominant so that the listener will be able to move comfortably in the direction of the speaker's advocacy. The authors point out that it is exceedingly difficult to motivate listeners to behave in a way not in character with dominant roles. Therefore, the speaker should do all within his power to adapt his message to the group's role expectations, and, where he cannot do so, the speaker should not be surprised to find his advocacy rejected.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 129-145.

There are marked similarities between the suggestions on audience analysis made by Hance, Ralph and Wiksell and those made by Ellingsworth and Clevenger. The writer does not intend to choose between them; but, rather, the study at hand will include elements from both, as well as from other sources, to help in understanding Gladden's audience situation. Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell's insights will assist in the task. Ellingsworth and Clevenger's will also be important; their stress upon the importance of role- and group-expectations being of special significance.

B. An Analysis of Gladden's Audience:

To turn now to the situation in Seattle, there Gladden's audience was nothing if not hostile. He would, no doubt, have agreed that his anticipated listeners were hostile, and that it was because, in the words of Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell, he was "on the hostile end of a controversial issue."[1] It is known that in a later report to his congregation he stated that he knew, "there was a pretty strong sentiment in favor of suppressing this subject."[2] One headline which appeared the day before Gladden spoke read, "Dr. Gladden Has No Chance of Winning: Canvass of Membership of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Shows Coming Defeat: Ninety Per Cent of the Delegates Do Not Sympathize With Moderator's Position on 'Tainted Money' Issue."[1] The report which followed quoted Chairman Whitcomb, "A canvass of the 300 members of the board showed a short time ago that 90 per cent of the members were opposed to Dr. Gladden's position."[2] In short, it was an audience which had already gone on record as being opposed to the speaker's position.

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[1] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, op. cit., p. 119.

[2] Gladden, "A Long Journey and a Lively Debate."

In essence, the Board's Prudential Committee had made a strong public commitment to a position contrary to the one espoused so tenaciously by Gladden. It was reported in the Outlook in April that a special subcommittee appointed by the Prudential Committee had recommended acceptance of the Rockefeller gift without reservations, and that that recommendation had been adopted. The report also stated that the gift had been made for special educational work, and was, in fact, accepted before "the fact of its offer was made public, and therefore before any protest against its acceptance was or could have been made."[3]

In these words there are at least two points which cast a pall on the whole beginning of the affair, and, in a measure, possibly indicate that those who accepted the gift in behalf of the Board and the denomination did so with an awareness of the opposition the act might arouse and the direction from which that opposition might come. The term "offer" provides the first problem point. The use of that term as late as April 22 may have indicated some determination to maintain for as long as possible the impression that Rockefeller had made the first approach on the matter. Indeed he had not, and that fact had come to light, much to what might have been the Board's embarrassment. Although it was announced in the Congregationalist of March 18 that the Board had been the recipient of the gift, from then until April 15 the public (Gladden included) was permitted to believe that the gift had been volunteered. But on that date a news release from the headquarters of the board confirmed what had been rumored, that the gift was in fact solicited by representatives of the Prudential Committee over a span of two years. One press report noted, "This is entirely a different version of the matter than that given in an initial interview with Secretary James L. Barton on March 27, and made public through the local office of the board." Secretary Barton replied that he had been misquoted. However, a newspaper editorialist wrote, "In view of the fact that both statements emanated from the office of the board, any inconsistency was due evidently to preparation rather than transmission."[1] The very next day the same editorial writer picked up the theme even more acidly:

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[1] Seattle Times, September 14, 1905.

[2] Ibid.

[3] "The Prudential Committee's Report," Outlook, LXXIX (April 22, 1905), p. 967.

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[1] Ohio State Journal, April 15, 1905.

> Whatever one may think about the propriety of the American board's acceptance of Mr. Rockefeller's gift for foreign missions, all men who value sincerity and frankness as among the cardinal virtues will agree that the representatives of the board have placed themselves and their organization in a bad light. Their conduct with respect to the donation might be termed sneaking, if the word were not so harsh.
>
> The fact that the money had been received was not announced for some weeks, during which nearly half of it was spent. Such secrecy is most unusual. Dr. Gladden's letter of protest to The Congregationalist was suppressed for one week, supposedly at the board's instigation, and was returned to him with the request that he make it a little milder.
>
> Now comes Secretary Barton with the belated admission that he solicited the money from Mr. Rockefeller. Previously, according to the written statements emanating directly from the board's officers and generally accepted as his own, he had denied such solicitation. Now, two or three weeks after the publication of the denial, he explains that that was all a mistake on the part of the Associated Press.
>
> The whole proceedings have had an air of concealment and half-deception which is sadly out of place and which cannot fail to injure the board.[1]

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[1] Ohio State Journal, April 16, 1905. (The reference to Gladden's "letter" of protest actually refers to an article he submitted for publication to the _Congregationalist_ upon hearing of the gift. On March 20 it was received by the editor who responded, "under ordinary conditions anything from your pen would go to the printing room without delay if our make-up could accommodate it. But on this matter it did not seem to me quite fair for you to address the officers of the Board first through the press." A request was made to soften the article at two points, to which Gladden agreed. But the article, instead of being printed immediately, was passed on to the Prudential Committee, who then proceeded to draft a statement of their own which was released to the press before Gladden was even made aware by the Clerk of the Prudential Committee that his statement of protest had been sidetracked to them. Gladden had tried to take advantage of an early and direct appeal to popular opinion, but he naively made the mistake of trying to do so through an organ controlled by one whose loyalties may from this distance be judged to lay with the Prudential Committee. A. E. Dunning to Gladden, March 20, 1905, March 25, 1905; E. E. Strong to Gladden, March 29, 1905.)

Thus it was clearly in evidence that the Board had indeed been of two minds about announcing the facts about the gift. Hence they had been forced to make a decision and stick by it under extremely strained conditions.

So intense did this particular aspect of the matter become that Secretary Barton was moved to publish what he identified as all the important "correspondence on the Rockefeller gift." Whether this did or did not do for Barton what he hoped it would--"correct impressions made by a brief interview with myself which has been widely distorted and misunderstood"[1]--is a matter for continued speculation. But it surely raised a point that must have added more heat to the controversy; at least it must have made Gladden wonder. Barton quoted a letter from a Rockefeller agent confirming that the gift had been formally granted as of February 11. Then Barton declared that the gift was formally accepted by the Prudential Committee on February 14.[2] However, the gift was not announced until March 18, a month and four days later. Why had the announcement been delayed for so long? It was delayed in fact until after some of the money (approximately half) had been received and dispersed. Perhaps the most important question for this study is, Why had Gladden, denominational

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[1] James L. Barton, D. D., "The Correspondence on the Rockefeller Gift," Independent, LVIII (April 20, 1905), pp. 871-874.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 873.

Moderator, not been informed of the gift, although he claimed to have conferred with officials of the American Board in Boston only ten days before the announcement (which would have been at least 20 days after the Board had officially received the gift)? He stated with some feeling that for him personally, "this is the most painful feature of the affair."[1] It is not yet known why Gladden was kept in the dark about the gift. However, it may be speculated that it was because his position on gifts from such a source was altogether too well known, and that trouble from him, and from those who felt as he did, was almost a foregone conclusion.

It is certainly known that the Board through its Prudential Committee made clear their intention to keep the gift. Among the reasons they offered for their action was the fact that "the decisions of the highest court are to the effect that the trustees who have once accepted a gift now have no power to return the gift."[2] The Board also made it clear that, with the issuance of a "statement of principles" (see Appendix), they had reached a position from which they would not likely move. As the Congregationalist put it, "The committee believes that the recent discussions of the subject have led the corporate members to conclusions not likely to be changed by further consideration."[1] They had cited wide support for their position, as early as April 22, claiming that "out of 189 corporate members of the Board who have communicated their views to the Board, 164 expressed the wish that the gift should be retained, 25 that it should be returned."[2] They had issued their statement; they were a unit; and, as far as they were concerned, the case was closed.

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[1] Ohio State Journal, April 2, 1905.

[2] Reported in Ohio State Journal, April 2, 1905.

What could be hoped for by anyone seeking to change such an attitude? In view of a commitment so forcefully made it is not likely that any change could be realistically anticipated. Hovland, Janis, and Kelley say that research tends to support the claim that once an individual has committed himself to a position, it is extremely difficult to move him from it. There is, to use their term, a certain "irreversibility" instilled. The person making the commitment is subsequently likely to act in such ways as will tend to maintain internal consistency; that is, he will not easily be brought to break what has become a habit pattern of thinking on a particular issue. The authors conclude, "The consistency motive is particularly likely to operate if the individual has expressed his beliefs publicly and thus committed himself."[3] To the extent that widely-printed statements might be interpreted as public statements, and to the degree that individual Board members might have identified themselves with those statements, it could be anticipated that the Board members were indeed poor prospects for anyone seeking to change their thinking on the issue. Even if a speaker were heard, listeners in this condition would be inclined to "interpret the speech in a way that will not threaten strongly held attitudes or cognitive elements."[1]

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[1] "What Is Good Money For Missions?" Congregationalist, XC (August 26, 1905), p. 281.

[2] "The Prudential Committee's Report," Outlook, LXXIX (April 22, 1905), p. 967.

[3] Hovland, Janis and Kelley, op. cit., p. 127.

Thus the Board and its Committee had decided. But Washington Gladden early in the conflict had declared, "From this decision the appeal will now be taken to the conscience of the Congregational churches and the conscience of Christendom."[2]

Not only had the members of Gladden's prospective audience made a commitment to a position and reinforced it with a rationale in the form of a "statement of principles," they had had ample opportunity to familiarize themselves with the arguments which he had been advancing. His articles and speeches had been disseminated from the inception of the controversy.[1] For example, on the very day that the Board's Prudential Committee declared that it intended to maintain a fixed position, and with that declaration set forth a statement of principles, there appeared in the Congregationalist a reply by Gladden which the editor had been gracious enough to print. At the end of his brief article Gladden appended a short resolution "for the consideration of the corporate members, and of all Congregationalists." It was, he said, "the resolution upon which I hope the sense of the Board will be taken at the meeting at Seattle."[2] Thus Gladden's listeners were probably familiar with his position and the support for it that he had been offering. The Seattle Times summarized:

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[1] Ellingsworth and Clevenger, op. cit., p. 127.

[2] Ohio State Journal, April 13, 1905.

> Dr. Gladden sent the text of his resolution to the prudential committee and the statements of both factions have been before church workers for several weeks. There is nothing new to be adduced by argument and the sentiment that already exists is probably the one that will be expressed if the question ever comes to a vote.[3] (Emphasis supplied.)

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[1] Gladden, "The Church and the Reward of Iniquity," Independent, LXIII (April 20, 1905), pp. 867-870; ______, "Rockefeller and the American Board," Outlook, LXXIX (April 22, 1905), pp. 984-987; ______, "Mr. Rockefeller as a Truth Teller," Independent, LVIII (June 8, 1905), pp. 1290-1291; ______, "Text of Dr. Gladden's Speech," Boston Herald, March 27, 1905; ______, "My Neighbor the Millionaire," Congregationalist, XC (April 1, 1905), pp. 429-430; ______, "Dr. Gladden Makes Reply," Boston Evening Transcript, April 27, 1905.

[2] Gladden, "Dr. Gladden Again Protests," Congregationalist, XC (August 26, 1905), p. 281.

[3] Seattle Times, September 14, 1905.

Whether each Board member had had either the time or inclination to digest fully all that Gladden had advanced in behalf of his position is, of course, doubtful. It is probably most likely that a few followed his pronouncements in detail while the large majority only occasionally sampled what was published. But it may be assumed that each had satisfied himself that he was reasonably familiar with Gladden's line of reasoning. In other words, they had all been "inoculated" with his advocacy. This may have been another obstacle to moving the audience. Behavioral science research has tended to support the idea that some inoculation with the substance of an argument prior to its full presentation will build a resistance to that argument, provided that the argument was at least in a measure objectionable to the audience in the first place. Cohen states it:

> From...experiments the general principle of inoculation has emerged in some detail. The analogy to the medical situation is clear: just as we develop the resistance to disease of a person raised in a germ free environment by pre-exposing him to a weakened form of a virus so as to stimulate, without overcoming, his defenses, so also we can develop the resistance to persuasion of a person...by pre-exposing him to weakened forms of counter-arguments or to some other belief-threatening material strong enough to stimulate, but not so strong as to overcome, his defenses against belief.[1]

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[1] Arthur R. Cohen, Attitude Change and Social Influence (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964), p. 122. There is, of course, some research evidence against the inoculation theory; however, it does not seem to the writer to be as substantial as the case for it. See Wallace C. Fotheringham, Perspectives on Persuasion (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1966).

It is too much to suggest that the audience Gladden was to face would have exact similarities to any group ever gathered in a research setting. However, it does not seem unreasonable to speculate that the inoculation principle set forth by Cohen could have had its effects on Gladden's audience.

Another factor which must be considered in Gladden's audience is its members' group affiliations, and, hence, their role expectations. No order of predominance among influences stemming from the group associations most common to his audience can be suggested. However, if the findings of Ellingsworth and Clevenger are correct, the responses which an individual audience member is likely to make are determined in large measure by his group memberships and the roles he plays within them.[1] Everyone, it is contended by these authors, is subject to "social influences."[2] That is, listeners tend to adjust "their perceptions, their evaluations, their reasoning, and their overt responses to those of the people around them."[3] And those who are "around them" need not be those whom the listeners can physically see. As these authors state, "response is not limited to the observed reactions of those who are present at the speech."[4] The listener "is likely to check his own tentative reactions against what he imagines to be the reactions of groups who are not present but whose relation to him he feels may be influenced by his response to the speech."[1] One may postulate that the immediately-present group's influence will be the most potent upon the listener. And it is true that while they are in the presence of such a group, one which is avowedly associated with some system of ideals or statement of purpose, listeners are most inclined to behave "as if" they valued those things. And appeals based on those values will "carry considerable weight."[2] It may be taken for granted that these values are those which the group will not be inclined to argue or to question. Yet it must not be assumed that any individual listener will in all instances respond as if he held such values uppermost. Before he responds, he will usually internally check the proposed response and its possible consequences in terms of all his personally "relevant reference groups."[3] Then he will make his decision in terms of the group affiliation which means the most to him at that particular moment insofar as the behavior called for promises to affect the relationship. To illustrate, his club may propose a mode of behavior which contradicts the principles of his religious group.

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[1] Ellingsworth and Clevenger, op. cit., p. 33.

[2] Ibid., p. 121.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 122.

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[1] Ibid., p. 123.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 122.

If his religious group is a "primary behavioral reference,"[1] and his club is not, he will tend to decide against the proposed behavior. The role expectation of the unseen group will predominate over the role expectation of the group that is in view.

Predicting such behavior is still a matter of speculation; however, it seems safe to assume that in those instances where one role is felt to be in conflict with another, and other things are equal, "that role will dominate behavior which serves as a primary reference for the behavior."[2] Deciding which group's role expectations may serve as primary referent for a requested behavior is part of the speaker's task, and also part of the task of the scholar who reviews speeches.

For our purposes the reference groups for Gladden's Seattle audience may be listed as follows: All to whom he would direct his remarks were members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The formation of the American Board, "an independent, self perpetuating corporation" by declaration of the charter granted it by the state of Massachusetts,[3] was inspired by the earnest pleas of six young college graduates who had had what they perceived as a summoning from God to evangelize the world's heathen. In 1810 they appealed to the Congregational churches of Massachusetts to support them; their plea was heard, steps were taken to organize a supporting association, and those young men, and hundreds more after them, were sent to the far corners of the world.[1] The American Board was "the most notable pioneer undertaking" in the area of foreign missionary effort in America, declares one noted church historian.[2] Certainly it was one of the oldest and best-known.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

[3] Gains Glenn Atkins and Frederick L. Fagley, *History of American Congregationalism* (Boston and Chicago: The Pilgrim Press, 1942), p. 302.

Another thing that could be known of Gladden's Seattle listeners is that all were Congregationalists. Although the Board at its inception had openly declared itself to be independent of any denomination, and had indeed cooperated fully with Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed groups, by the turn of the century, this cooperative spirit had faded from among denominations, and the Board had become "basically a Congregationalist society."[3]

One commentator has stated that the Board "has never been denominational,"[4] indicating that it has never been narrowly sectarian. What this meant specifically, in terms of a systematic statement of faith, it is difficult to say. Though theologically Calvinist in its origins, the denomination had been more noted for its polity than for its theology. Congregational historians, Atkins and Fagley, do list several statements of faith in their work, the last one before 1905 being titled, "The Creed of 1883."[1] But no statement had any more authority than a local church might wish to accede to it. As a matter of record, the 1800's had been for the Congregationalists a time of heated theological debate.[2] The result of all this discussion had not been agreement upon one statement. Neither had it been an agreement to disagree. If anything, the topic seemed to simply evaporate. Atkins and Fagley put it this way:

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[1] William Warren Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), pp. 247-248.

[2] Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), p. 1047.

[3] Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959, revised edition), p. 509.

[4] Atkins and Fagley, op. cit., p. 162.

> What one may call the period of theological transition ended with the century. Theology, precisely defined, had ceased to be the primary concern of the churches and their leaders. The United States was fabulously prosperous, "at peace with the world," as a presidential message once said, "and in amity with the rest of mankind." The period was kind to generous idealisms; a bright, happy, fraternal world seemed so easily possible, if only the Sermon on the Mount could and would be put into general practice.[3]

As to exactly what one was required to believe upon uniting with a church of the denomination, the substance of that seems to be nothing. Dr. William E. Barton, "long the leading authority on Congregational polity," put it:

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[1] Atkins and Fagley, op. cit., pp. 393-404.

[2] Ibid., pp. 164-180.

[3] Ibid., p. 180

> You are not required to become a Congregationalist in order to unite with a Congregational church. A Congregational church is not a church of Congregationalists, but a church of Christians in which the congregation governs. It has absolutely no sectarian tests. To belong to a Baptist church one must be a Baptist, submitting to a particular rite administered in a particular form. To belong to an Episcopal church one must be an Episcopalian. Congregationalism has no such divisive tests.[1]

No author consulted on the topic even remotely suggests that beliefs do not matter in Congregationalism. The only points made are that no tests should be required by the denomination for membership in it, and that a wide range of tolerance for personal beliefs should be permitted members.

However, even though Congregationalists can claim that a closely-ordered theological system is not important, the same cannot be said for church polity, at least insofar as one particular point is concerned: the absolute independence of each congregation of Christians. The first principle of church government for the denomination is, in the words of one writer on the subject, "the entire completeness of each local church for its own government."[2] This statement bespeaks a certain rugged spirit of independence which might be expected, for Walker states that the landing of the Mayflower was the event which established Congregationalism in America.[3] And, although the Pilgrims did not come to these shores for the purpose of advancing the spirit of tolerance, they certainly came with freedom to worship as they pleased in mind.

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[1] Quoted in Atkins and Fagley, op. cit., p. 299.

[2] Alanzo H. Quint, quoted in Atkins and Fagley, op. cit., p. 287.

[3] Walker, op. cit., p. 409.

Without trying to line out cause and effect, it can be attested that by the time of the Revolutionary War, the Congregationalists had more local churches than did any other denomination.[1] Perhaps it was merely a function of size, but Sweet claims that no church in the American Colonies had as great an influence in the War for Independence as had the Congregational. Its ministry especially had been most influential in public affairs from the beginning.[2]

Furthermore, within its broad tolerances it had developed leadership of exceptional character. The leadership was well-educated, Harvard and Yale both being founded out of the need felt by the Congregationalists for an educated ministry. To indicate the breadth, and perhaps some of the depth, of the denomination's tolerance, John Cotton, Richard and Increase Mather, Jonathan Edwards, and Lyman Beecher, all grew up into leadership in Congregationalism.

Perhaps one more thing should be noted of Congregationalists. By the turn of the century, observers had started to take note of a phenomenon which had most certainly been occuring in American churches for a long time--social stratification along the lines of the economic and educational status of the members. When such observations began to be systemitized, it was clear that Congregationalists, along with Unitarians, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, tended to be in the upper-income brackets.[1]

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[1] Sweet, op. cit., pp. 172-173.

[2] Ibid., p. 177.

Another generalization which could be advanced relative to Gladden's audience is that it was largely composed of business and professional people. At least we know from the Board's annual report for the year in question that of the 272 members who actually attended the Seattle meeting, only 72 were clergy. The vast majority--3 out of every 4--were laymen.[2] It might be surmised that most of the laymen who came to Seattle were businessmen like Mr. Capen, the President of the Board, who was in the wholesale carpet and rug business in Boston.[3] It has already been noted that Mr. Whitcomb, Chairman of the Board's Prudential Committee, was a businessman of substance with landholdings in and about Seattle, although he made his home in the East. These two may well have set the pattern in kind, if not in degree. It is probable that not all the businessmen members of the Board were as prosperous as Messrs. Capen and Whitcomb, but it is likely that all were comparatively well off. How else could they have managed the time off from their everyday work, and the money it took for the expenses of the trip? At any rate, it seems clear that the majority of those who attended the meeting were men of the market place and countinghouse. For such men it was a great time to be alive. Businessmen, especially successful businessmen, were admired by almost everyone. A measure of the interest of the people of that day in the glamour and excitement of high finance and the intrigue and promise of big business could be taken in light of the fact that two fiction works on that general theme appeared on the best-seller lists of 1903. One of these was The Pit, a novel by Frank Norris with its setting in the Chicago commodities market, and the other was Letters of a Self-Made Merchant to His Son, by George Horace Lorimer, editor of the Saturday Evening Post.[1] And in 1905 one of the Broadway hits of the year was a play dealing with a big-business theme authored by Charles Klein under the title "The Lion and the Mouse," taking its setting in a department store.[2]

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[1] Latourette, op. cit., p. 1261.

[2] American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Annual Report, 1905 (Boston: Published by Order of the National Council, 1905), pp. 161-164. [Also, see Appendix.]

[3] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 15, 1905.

It was a time when the population was growing at an unprecedented rate, the frontiers of the nation were being pushed to their last territorial extremes, no large wars had drained either the nation's manpower or money in recent years, and "Spencerian laissez faire was accepted by respectable folk everywhere."[1] Theodore Roosevelt summed up the feeling about the last quarter of the nineteenth century in his Autobiography as follows:

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[1] Alice Payne Hackett, 70 Years of Best Sellers: 1895-1965 (New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1967), p. 99.

[2] Ibid., p. 101.

> ...a riot of individualistic materialism, under which complete freedom for the individual...turned out in practice to mean perfect freedom for the strong to wrong the weak... The power of the mighty industrial overlords...had increased with giant strides, while the methods of controlling them,...through the Government, remained archaic and therefore practically impotent.[2]

Whether their methods were largely just or unjust, it was certainly a time when the roles businessmen played were leading ones in society. A contemporary newspaper commented, "After all business is the biggest thing in this country. Politicians may talk, but businessmen will act, control, and dominate the destinies of this common-sense country."[3] And members of the American Board were everywhere "recognized as men of the highest integrity *in the business world*."[4] (Italics, the writer's.)

To be a successful businessman at the turn of the century was to be admired, perhaps even envied. It was also to be criticized, not always flatteringly so. But it was certainly to be aware of one's self- and group-identity.

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[1] Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 172.

[2] Quoted in Samuel Eliot Morison's The Oxford History of the American People (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 764.

[3] Quoted in Rhea Foster Dulles' The United States Since 1865 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1959), p. 53.

[4] "Mr. Rockefeller's Gift to the Board," Congregationalist, XC (April 1, 1905), p. 421.

In summary, we see that Gladden's Seattle listeners could easily be termed hostile. They had openly declared that they were, in the vast majority, against his position. They had even gone so far as to say that, as they saw it, the case was closed. Furthermore, they had issued their own position statement and pledged themselves to stand by it. To a certain extent--insofar as individual Board members chose to identify themselves with such "public" pronouncements--the members of the audience had all made public statements of their position, a step which would make them difficult to move.

Also, it may be assumed that they had become somewhat familiar with Gladden's views through their wide dissemination in the public press. They had had opportunity to be "inoculated" against his position.

Also, and perhaps most importantly, all the Board members had several significant roles to keep in mind. All were aware of their membership on the Board, a tradition-laden, time-honored missionary enterprise. Its record was one of both innovation and success. They were also all members of the Congregationalist denomination, a Christian body which in turn had been strong in its national leadership, although more recently it had perhaps become most significantly a denomination of the well-to-do. However, it was also an organization fraught with a heavy tradition of accomplishment in the name of the Christian faith.

Also to be considered was the fact that for three-fourths of the Board members there was an identification to be made with a role as a member of the business community. At the time, the role expectations of the businessman might have been more than a little confused. It could not be predicted with certainty what a businessman might hold to be most important, or whether this particular group of men actually felt any strong sense of identity with the contemporary businessman's role. Yet it must be recognized that an occupational commitment could have been a strong factor in determining the role expectancies of the business people in the group.

CHAPTER V

PROCEDURES IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING GLADDEN'S ADDRESS

A. Resolutions, Committee Assignments, Reports:

Friday, September 15, 1905, was, according to press reports, a typical Seattle day, cloudy, with a "trace of precipitation" in the air, the temperature to reach a cool 52°, and a mild breeze from the North.[1] That was outside. Inside Plymouth Church, there would be some light, more than a mere trace of something in the air, and the temperature would be heated.

On that day Gladden was to complete what he later termed the "particular errand"[2] that brought him to the city. Although "the number of corporate members in attendance was not large"[3] that day, the "commodious auditorium" (seating 750) with its "somber tones" relieved by "an artistic arrangement of flags and bunting"[4] was "filled"[5] when the meeting began on schedule at 9:00 A.M. The meeting's agenda for that day was printed in the local newspapers,[1] and, it is interesting to note that the absence of both Gladden's name and the issue which brought him are commented upon by reporters. Reportedly, the business committee appointed by President Capen to arrange an agenda had assigned a place for a "discussion of principles underlying reception of gifts,"[2] but this was only on a preliminary form of the agenda. This assignment did not hold, for "on second thought the committee changed its mind, so that the responsibility for further agitation of the matter must rest with the protestants."[3]

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[1] Seattle Times, September 15, 1905.

[2] Gladden, "A Long Journey and a Lively Debate."

[3] Ibid.

[4] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 15, 1905.

[5] See Seattle Times, September 15, 1905. The minutes of the day's meeting are reported in American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Annual Report 1905, op. cit., pp. viii-x.

It was Gladden who took the initiative. The meeting had proceeded through the devotional service, reading of the minutes, report of the "home" department, and Secretary C. H. Patton was well into an "address from the prudential committee," which was, in essence, "an eloquent plea for money."[4] He had, so a report went,

> taken time by the forelock and was launching well into a discourse exposing the depleted condition of the treasury and calling attention to the fact that the missionaries are now in the throes of a rapidly accumulating debt.[5]

Then the "noted divine," Gladden, entered from the back of the auditorium. As he entered, President Capen stepped to the front of the platform, placed his hand upon Secretary Patton's shoulder and whispered something to him. Immediately the Secretary broke off his speech and stepped to the rear of the platform while President Capen acknowledged Gladden's presence and introduced him to the gathering. "Applause" and "cheering" "ran through the audience," so one report has it. It was indeed a "most dramatic" situation.[1]

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[1] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 15, 1905.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Seattle Times, September 15, 1905.

[5] Ibid.

The Times was to contend that Gladden "interrupted" the meeting with "apparent disregard" for the fact that he had broken in upon Secretary Patton's speech.[2] However, Gladden explained afterwards that he had been asked to come in when he did by President Capen himself.[3] It seems doubtful that Gladden had expected Capen to stop Secretary Patton in mid-speech, but what was done was done, and there was nothing more to do but go ahead with things as they were. This he did. Rising from where he had seated himself during the introductory remarks by President Capen, Gladden waited for another burst of cheers and applause to subside, and then proceeded to speak while "standing in the body of the assembly."[4] At this time it was only his intention to present his short resolution and he prefaced that with these words:

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 16, 1905.

[4] Seattle Times, September 15, 1905.

> I will introduce for the deliberations of this meeting my resolution which has been heralded before the people by the press of the country for the last few weeks and which you all know.[1]

And then he read:

> Resolved, That the officers of the Board not invite nor solicit donations to its funds from persons whose gains are generally believed to have been made by methods morally indefensible or socially injurious.[2]

This resolution was immediately referred to "the Business Committee"[3] together with an alternate motion made right after Gladden's by "Mr. David Fales, of Illinois."[4] Mr. Fales rose from a seat near Gladden's and read a motion which began as follows:

> Whereas, The Prudential Committee in its circular letter of August 8, 1905, submitted for the consideration of the Corporate Members a series of principles which, in its judgment, should govern the action of the officers of the Board in the matter of gifts, to which answer was made by a large majority of such Corporate Members approving such statement, and which statement of principles as follows:--
>
> [Inserted here was the Prudential Committee's Statement of Principles. (See Appendix.)]
>
> Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the aforesaid statement of principles be, and the same is, hereby approved.[5]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Annual Report, 1905, op. cit., p. x.

[3] Ibid., p. viii.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

After the resolutions of Gladden and Fales had been sent to the Business Committee, Secretary Patton continued his speech. In substance, it was an impassioned discourse on the Board's debts and what he (Patton) thought should be done about them. Unfortunately, the writer has not been able to locate a complete text for that speech. All that could be located on it are a rather florid summary from one newspaper report, and what appears to be a truncated verbatim report from another newspaper.[1] The summary report states that at the instant he was interrupted, Secretary Patton had come to the point of the Board's indebtedness. In view of the debt, so the summary report of his speech goes, he declared that "from every source a royal welcome was being extended to the dollar." According to the summary report,

> ...Dr. Patton resumed after the interruption. He called attention to the extent of the work in foreign fields. He dilated on the financial distress. He feared the abandonment of the work in certain localities. Money, the one crowning need to prosecute the work, must be obtained.
>
> And then, speaking with all the vigor he had, Dr. Patton would have it understood he was not asking to saddle any further burdens on the churches. He pointed directly to personal contributions, and uppermost in his mind was the offering of Rockefeller. He was extending to the oil king a hearty thanks for the money he had given, and bidding him to continue his generous offers.[2]

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[1] Summary in Seattle Times, September 15, 1905; brief verbatim in Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 16, 1905.

[2] Ibid.

If the report is accurate, Patton's speech must have had some effect upon the audience members' attitude toward what they anticipated hearing from Gladden. Although, as Hovland, Janis, and Kelley point out, it is not yet clear whether the material presented first in a communication situation will be more effective than that presented second,[1] still one wonders if Patton did not think that there might be, and if his listeners were not bolstered in their attitudes at least somewhat by hearing this presentation so closely before Gladden's. Even if the material did not have any particular effect, in and of itself, it could be that the imminent possibility of someone's speaking in behalf of a position contrary to his own may have stimulated Patton to give more thought to the delivery of his speech. If so, and if by giving such thought to it, he was in fact able to improve his delivery in some way, then it would certainly be likely that the speech would have a more influential effect than it might have had without that stimulus. As Eisenson, Auer, and Irwin state, research evidence seems to support the claim that improved delivery leads to a more influential speech.[2] But of this particular speech more shall be heard later.

After Patton's speech was concluded, the order of the day continued with an address by a representative of a college in India. Then the Business Committee reported on the motions that had been referred to them, but the report was not on a recommendation for one or the other, rather it was a recommendation that the motions be passed on to a special committee. This recommendation was accepted, and President Capen nominated the following: "Rev. Washington Gladden, David Fales, Rev. George C. Adams, Rev. John R. Thurston, Mr. W. W. Mills, Mr. Guilford Dudley,"[1] The committee was elected as nominated, the first-named acting as chairman, and it may be assumed that they forthwith retired to deliberate what had been referred to them while the order of the day was resumed on the floor.

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[1] Hovland, Janis and Kelley, op. cit., p. 129.

[2] Eisenson, Auer and Irwin, op. cit., p. 304.

The business of the Board between then and the time the special committee was to report that afternoon was by no means ephemeral in nature. In addition to hearing reports from missionaries and Board executives, the commissioners passed two resolutions which expressed the breadth of concern which they felt, and also something of the sense they had of the significance of their organization. One of these resolutions was to express the Board's "grateful appreciation of the distinguished service rendered in the interests of humanity and of a Christian civilization by President Theodore Roosevelt." The service rendered was his successful effort to bring the war between Russia and

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[1] *American Board...Annual Report, 1905*, *op. cit.*, p. ix.

Japan to a close. This was significant for the Board, because peaceful conditions made missionary work more viable.[1] Incidentally, it was directed that the President of the Board was to bear the resolution "in person" to the Chief Executive. The second resolution passed was to express appreciation for the public service rendered by the late Secretary of State, John Hay, who "contributed much for the development of Christian civilization and the progress of that kingdom which is to fill the earth with the knowledge of the Lord."[2] An organization passing such resolutions takes neither itself nor its work lightly.

Early in the afternoon (about 2:45 P.M.[3]), Gladden, "chairman of the special committee upon the reception of gifts made to the Board," was called upon to present that committee's report.[4] Gladden took "the platform"[5] and offered two reports, one for the majority which was essentially the resolution presented by Fales at the morning session, and one for the minority signed by P. S. Moxom and himself.[6] The minority report was a short resolution which Gladden immediately moved be adopted. It is of interest to note that the resolution read by Gladden in the afternoon was not exactly the same as the one we have noted he read in the morning. The two are presented here in parallel columns for comparison:

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., pp. ix-x.

[3] Seattle Star, September 16, 1905.

[4] Ibid., p. x.

[5] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 16, 1905.

[6] American Board...Annual Report, 1905, op. cit., p. x; Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 16, 1905; A. E. Dunning, "The American Board at Seattle," Congregationalist, XC (September 30, 1905), p. 446.

Gladden's Resolution

A.M. Version:	P.M. Version:
Resolved,	Resolved,
That the officers of the	That the officers of the
Board	Board should
not invite nor solicit	not invite nor solicit
donations to its funds	donations to its funds
from persons whose gains	from persons whose gains
are generally believed to	
have been made by methods	have been made by methods
morally indefensible or	morally indefensible or
socially injurious.	socially injurious.[1]

What significance can be attached to the changed wording? The insertion of the word "should" obviously softens the demand element in the resolution. Thus the Board's officers would, if the resolution were adopted, retain the integrity of their own moral judgment. The deletion of the phrase, "generally believed" removes an element found especially distasteful by commentators upon the resolution. Dunning had made the most of it. Even before the resolution was published, he had commented generally:

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[1] American Board...Annual Report, 1905, loc. cit., p. x.

> to turn down an unconditioned gift simply because the giver is popularly disliked, because his money is thought by many to have been unrighteously earned is to add to the functions already discharged by boards an almost impossible task of acting as judge of personal motives and professional methods.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

Later, in his report to the actual meeting in Seattle, Dunning states that although in the special committee's meeting it "appeared...that Drs. Gladden and Moxom were unwilling to consider any suggestion of compromise," they were at least persuaded to strike out the phrase "referring to the popular belief of the judgment on the business methods of donors."[2] The removal of the noxious phrase probably meant to some that they were no longer responsible for interpreting the opinion of the masses on the character and business practices of a prospective donor. If interpreted literally, and undertaken in any scientific way, this might indeed have placed an impossible burden on the officers. However, it is clear that the change in wording still did not remove the necessity for the officers' exercising some discretion in the solicitation of gifts. In passing, it should also be noted that in any case the reference is to actively "inviting and soliciting," not to passively accepting gifts. This point was an important one in the discussion which followed.

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[1] "Mr. Rockefeller's Gift to the Board," Congregationalist, XC (April 1, 1905), p. 422.

[2] A. E. Dunning, op. cit. p. 446.

B. Gladden's Entrance, Recognition, And "Introduction":

Gladden read both reports in full, that of the majority as well as that of the minority,[1] and in so doing reviewed his opposition's position before stating his own. In other words, he had, in effect, begun a two-sided presentation. As we shall see in the direct study of his speech, this characterized all of his presentation, a feature which research evidence today would tend to endorse as a good one under these circumstances.[2]

Gladden then proceeded to move the adoption of the minority report, and it was time now for him to speak in behalf of his cause. However, before he even began his address, he had already done three things which modern speech scholarship would say enhanced the chances for the success of his communication attempts.

One of the things he did which, no doubt, enhanced his chances for effective communication was to display a prepared manuscript in full view of his audience.[3] There are advantages and disadvantages to the use of a manuscript in speaking, as Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell point out.[1] But, as Ellingsworth and Clevenger state, there are situations in which a manuscript is "expected"--the speaker who comes to the platform without one may be suspected of not having done his homework thoroughly enough, and this in turn may be taken as evidence of an improper regard for the audience.[2] Arguing from the obverse of this statement, it may be contended that Gladden's audience immediately saw that he had prepared carefully for the occasion, thus evidencing a high regard for them. The exhibition of the manuscript was an act related to the delivery of the speech which would, in turn, have related to the "ethos" or "source credibility" of the speaker, as these two terms are used (interchangeably) by Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell.[3] They advance the argument that there is a combination of factors arising from the speaker's person, as his audience perceives him, which effect the acceptance or rejection of his message. The pattern which this perception takes may be termed the speaker's ethos or source credibility, insofar as a particular audience is concerned.[4] As one takes advantage of these factors, either consciously or unconsciously, it may be said that he is making use of "personal proof" in his presentation.[1] There are three main elements in the totality which constitutes a speaker's personal proof potential. These are competence, good character and good will.[2] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell define each of these as follows:

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[1] Seattle Times, September 16, 1905.

[2] See, for example, Hovland, Janis and Kelley, op. cit., pp. 105-111.

[3] Dunning, loc. cit.

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[1] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, op. cit., pp. 212-213.

[2] Ellingsworth and Clevenger, op. cit., p. 121.

[3] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, op. cit., pp. 38-47.

[4] Ibid., p. 38.

> Competence is the quality that grows out of a combination of mental ability, know-how, intelligence, understanding, experience with the subject,and knowledge. Listeners believe that a speaker is competent when they can say, "He knows what he's talking about."
>
> Good Character is made up of honesty, integrity, sincereity, fairness, and similar qualities that meet the standards of the listeners. Of a speaker who exhibits this quality listeners are likely to say, "He is honest, fair, and really believes what he says."
>
> Good will consists of friendliness, likableness, rapport, warmth, and being "in" with the audience. The listener may say of the speaker who exhibits this quality, "I like him; he is warm and friendly, and he really gets across."[3]

Clearly, the act of introducing a manuscript would have the effect of at least lifting Gladden's personal proof level in terms of competence, for if advance preparation is any sign, here was a speaker who showed enough competence to prepare carefully in advance of the occasion.[4]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., pp. 38-39.

[4] The writer is aware of theory and research related to a fourth factor in credibility denoted as dynamism. However, the materials are somewhat tenuous at this time, therefore, it seems best to forego discussing it in relationship to Gladden's ethos.

The other two things which Gladden did before he ever spoke to promote his chances for communicating effectively come within the scope of what Ellingsworth and Clevenger define as the adoption process as it relates to speech communication.[1] They contend that

> any particular speech is virtually always one of a number of messages on a subject coming to a respondent and that social action--or adoption--succeeds or fails because of (or perhaps in spite of) this this flood of messages.[2]

Again at the risk of grave oversimplification, it may be explained that the authors base their arguments on research findings regarding the way that ideas, products, any new way of thinking or doing, are actually adopted and put into everyday use. This type of research has generally been subsumed under the heading of "the diffusion of innovations." It is not by merely one speech, or one communication attempt of any kind, that ideas usually come to be adopted. There are likely to be several speeches on the subject. There will be some repetition of the arguments presented as they are passed on and discussed by those who hear of them from one source or another. Involved in the process are hearing about the substance of the message, hearing the message itself, reviewing the message for one's self, reviewing it with others, and so on. It is thus up to the communicator to take advantage of all the possible steps in the process that he is able to if he wants to be maximally effective.

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[1] Ellingsworth and Clevenger, op. cit., pp. 182-198.

[2] Ibid., p. 183.

What can the speaker do to take full advantage of this process? Ellingsworth and Clevenger suggest five things, and Gladden used at least two of them in the Seattle situation. One thing they suggest is that the speaker can

> Provide advance information about the topic and viewpoint. By using appropriate techniques to let the potential respondents know what the speech will be about, the speaker can reduce time spent by the audience in "tuning in" on the speech.[1]

In a number of ways Gladden had taken opportunity to let his audience know what his speech was going to be about. He had published numerous articles on the subject. He had given at least two widely-reprinted speeches on it. Most recently he had outlined the specific arguments he had proposed to use in Seattle in support of his short resolution.[2] And he had even distributed copies of his proposed remarks to his fellow protestants in advance of the meeting. Thus there was adequate notice given of the lines of thought he proposed to develop so that "tuning in" time would be reduced to a minimum.[3]

Another thing which Gladden did before speaking which would be in harmony with one of Ellingsworth and

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[1] Ibid., p. 195.

[2] Gladden, "What Is Good Money for Missions?: Dr. Gladden Again Protests," Congregationalist, XC, (August 26, 1905), p. 281.

[3] We have noted earlier that there was risk of "inoculation" effects in doing this.

Clevenger's suggestions for taking full advantage of the multi-step communication process is announce that copies of his address had been printed and were available at the doors for those who wanted to take them after the session was over.[1] These writers counsel speakers:

> If possible, arrange to have the main ideas from the speech repeated in some form following the speech. Many political and religious speakers distribute copies of their remarks. Reports by sympathetic mass media accomplish the same thing.[2]

Printed copies of the speech were available for the immediate audience, and thus their continued review of his discussion was provided for. In addition, their printed form would give confidence to reporters looking for accurate quotes to convey to readers, and thus encourage an even wider dissemination of his remarks. Indeed, as we have seen, the speech was reprinted. Furthermore, within a month, Gladden had submitted (and had accepted) the text of his speech for inclusion in a book he had in preparation.[3] It remains to be seen whether or not Gladden used all the available means of persuasion; it seems clear, however, that he used practically all of the available media of communication.

All this was accomplished, and it was time for Gladden to deliver the speech he had prepared in support of his resolution.

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[1] Dunning, loc. cit.

[2] Ellingsworth and Clevenger, loc. cit.

[3] Ida M. Tarbell to Gladden, October 10, 1905.

CHAPTER VI

A COMMENTARY ON THE SPEECH

A. Gladden's established ethos; his speaking; his writing; the testimony of contemporaries and of modern historians:

May I be indulged in a personal word?

Although he spoke of himself as being no more than an "average American,"[1] Gladden's opening words are perhaps remarkable because he was so well-known by so many of his contemporaries, so much praised by them.

There is evidence indicating that Gladden was widely-esteemed by his fellow Christians at the turn of the century. And he had achieved wide repute as one who used what means he could to communicate his concerns. The two means he used most were speaking and writing. As early as 1895, Gladden's portrait had appeared on the cover of The Outlook,[2] a notable magazine[3] with a weekly circulation of over 100,000.[4] An article in the magazine in praise of Gladden began, "Dr. Gladden, whose portrait appears this week on the cover of The Outlook, has been . . . called to the front as a lecturer on social questions . . . ."[1]

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[1] Gladden, Recollections, p. 1.

[2] Outlook, LII (November 9, 1895).

[3] Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines (New York, London: D. Appleton & Co., 1930), III, p. 429.

[4] Ibid.

Gladden had indeed distinguished himself as a platform speaker. In a long career of public advocacy which spanned many years in either direction from the year 1905, Gladden spoke on many different kinds of occasions and in many different places. Although he spoke in churches, for religious gatherings, before civic groups, and at Chautauqua, the Outlook author was probably right to accentuate the lecture aspect of Gladden's speaking. Dorn reports that Gladden was also popular as a speaker for college commencements and chapel services. He appeared at Wellesley, Mount Holyoke, Smith, Harvard, and many other Eastern colleges, as well as at such public institutions as the University of Michigan, the Ohio State University, and Miami University.[2] Besides occasional lectures, Gladden gave several important series of addresses at educational institutions. He was one of only four men invited to give more than one course under the Lyman Beecher Foundation at Yale Seminary (both courses prior to 1905). Between 1893 and 1903 he served three terms on the staff of preachers at Harvard University. He also gave at least three series of lectures at the Bangor Theological Seminary, reaching not only the seminarians but also many ministers from Maine who attended. He also delivered lecture series at the Chicago Theological Seminary and at Vanderbilt University.[1]

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[1] "Washington Gladden," Outlook, LII, (November 9, 1895), p. 745.

[2] Dorn, op. cit., p. 497.

However, as the Outlook writer put it, this was "but one direction of the many-sided interest of Gladden's varied and fruitful activity."[2] Another means he had used, one through which he addressed "a larger audience than any sermons attract,"[3] was the published word. Gladden was a prolific writer. In the two most exhaustive works on Gladden there are 77 books and 84 articles, and 66 books and 89 articles, listed in the respective bibliographies.[4] Printing totals for his books are not known, but something of the circulation of his magazine articles, and the quality of the publications in which they appeared can be reported.

It was during Gladden's times that, according to Mott, a leading journalism historian, "the outstanding incident" in the history of magazines in America occurred, the "coming of the cheap illustrated monthly."[5] With their advent, and the wide circulation they achieved, magazines became "vital arenas of opinion."[1] Simply by going through the two bibliographies cited, and noting the magazines in which his articles appeared, together with the number of his articles carried by each publication, one may gain some idea of the reading public Gladden reached. An alphabetical list of those publications with the number of Gladden's articles in each one noted in parentheses follows:

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[1] *Ibid*., pp. 497-500.

[2] "Washington Gladden," *Outlook*, LII (November 9, 1895), p. 745.

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] Kenneth Lee Brown, *op. cit*., pp. 336-358; Dorn, *op. cit*., pp. 506-515.

[5] Mott, *op. cit*., III, p. 590.

American Magazine (1)
Andover Review (2)
Applied Christianity (2)
Arena (1)
Atlantic (2)
Biblical World (2)
Bibliotheca Sacra (3)
Century (24)
Chautauquan (3)
Christian Advocate (17)
Christian Union (18)
Columbus Medical Journal (1)
Congregationalist (4)
Dawn (1)
Everybody's (1)

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[1] Barbara W. Tuchman, *The Proud Tower: A Portrait of the World Before the War, 1890-1914* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966), p. 130.

Forum (3)

Good Housekeeping (2)

Harper's (4)

Homiletic Review (6)

Independent (16)

International Quarterly (1)

McClure's (1)

Nation (2)

New Republic (1)

North American Review (3)

Outlook (23)

Pacific (1)

Religious Education (1)

Review of Reviews (3)

Scribner's (5)

Sunday Afternoon (4)

Woman's Home Companion (11)

As might be expected, Gladden's articles appeared in greatest number in religious publications like the Christian Advocate, and the Christian Union. But he also published in secular periodicals like Good Housekeeping, Scribner's, and Woman's Home Companion. Articles in the Atlantic, Forum, Harper's, North American Review, and others, indicate that his writings were well-respected among more sophisticated readers.

Century (successor to Scribner's) with a circulation of 150,000, was, according to Mott, "the best printed magazine in the world" in its day.[1] It was characterized by "the highest aesthetic and moral ideals; and it was "an effective force in political and social reform."[2] Its notable contributors included Hans Christian Anderson, Joel Chandler Harris, Mark Twain, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Dean Howells.[3] It published 29 articles by Gladden (if his contributions to Scribner's are included with the total). In fact, a letter to Gladden from a Century editor asks him not to divulge the rate of pay he received for his contributions to that magazine, since he was "its most valuable writer and deserved what he got."[4]

McClure's was "a high-class general illustrated monthly" that started in 1893 and reached a circulation of 350,000 by 1905.[5] Cosmopolitan reached 350,000 subscribers, and Everybody's went to 100,000. Gladden's contributions to these were small, but their broad circulation could have spread his message.

The Independent, to which Gladden contributed at least 16 articles, held "an important position among

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[1] Mott, op. cit., II, p. 467.

[2] Ibid., p. 480.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Rowell Smith to Gladden, March 6, 1885.

[5] Mott, op. cit., p. 590.

American periodicals."[1]

The Outlook, which had grown from a circulation of 30,000 in 1895 to over 100,000 at the turn of the century, was edited in 1905 by the distinguished Lyman Abbott who had succeeded Henry Ward Beecher in the post. Not strictly a religious journal, it was strong in serial biography, autobiography, literary criticism, and in comment on national affairs. Its contributors included Harriet Beecher Stowe, Louisa M. Alcott, Edward Everett Hale, John Burroughs, and Phillips Brooks.[2] Gladden contributed at least 23 articles to this publication. It was a magazine which caught the spirit of the time, stating that it believed

> in the immortality of the spirit and in change of forms, in the old religion and in a new theology, in the old patriotism and in new politics, in the old philanthropy and in new institutions, in the old brotherhood and in a new social order.[3]

Thus Gladden's views were carried by many of the best, most widely-circulated magazines of his day. Again, bibliographies reveal that before the year 1905, Gladden had had at least 55 articles published, in addition to 49 books. The man who humbly asked to be indulged in a personal word might well have been recognized by all as an outstanding spokesman for his cause.

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[1] Ibid., II, p. 376.

[2] Ibid., III, p. 428.

[3] Ibid., III, p. 429.

Some historians have testified to his reputation. Dulles says that Gladden was an "important figure" in his own time. He was "known throughout the country as a spokesman for the social gospel."[1] Commager echoes, saying that there was known "no more representative spokesman for socialized Christianity than Washington Gladden."[2] Dorn concurs to the extent that within his own denomination Gladden would by 1905 have been very well known indeed. Says Dorn:

> By the beginning of the twentieth century Gladden's name was a household word for American Congregationalists, and it was known to many abroad. His appearance on important denominational platforms for several decades, his constant availability for services small and great, and the publication of many of his books and articles by the Congregational presses of England and America established him as a loyal son of his church.[3] (Emphasis supplied.)

On the basis of his reputation, as well as his age, the New York Times was probably correct to use the term "venerable Moderator" when referring to Gladden in its report of the Seattle meeting.[4]

B. Opposition to Gladden based upon his being denominational moderator; the development of the office of moderator in the Congregational denomination:

I have been favored with several communications, mostly anonymous, in which my right to speak on this subject

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[1] Dulles, op. cit., p. 97.

[2] Commager, op. cit., p. 171.

[3] Dorn, op. cit., p. 179.

[4] New York Times, September 16, 1905.

> *is called in question, because of the position which I hold. It is declared to be an abuse of authority for the Moderator of the National Council to express his mind upon a question where there are two sides.*
>
> *With respect to this I have to say that I have not abused any authority and could not if I tried, because I have none to abuse. There is no ecclesiastical body within Congregationalism which has the power to clothe anybody with ecclesiastical authority. There is no Congregationalist whose words when he speaks can have any more authority over other Congregationalists than there is in the reason and truth which they contain. And simply because this is so there is no Congregationalist in any position high or low who should not have the right to speak the truth that is in him, asking for that truth its proper weight with other minds. If the Congregationalists have created a position in which a man is prevented from speaking what he believes to be true and important, the Congregationalists have committed a deadly sin against the light. The Congregationalists have done no such thing. There may be benighted persons in other churches who imagine that the Moderator of the Congregational Council has some of the attributes of a Pope, but there is no intelligent Congregationalist who does not know that the imputation to him of any ecclesiastical authority whatever is simply ridiculous.*

Gladden was especially well known among his fellow Congregationalists. Also, he would have been a familiar figure to the members of the Board, for he had been a Corporate Member of it since 1888. However, there was another way in which he was known to Congregationalists, as well as to others, and that was as Moderator of the National Council of Congregational Churches.

His moderatorship had been made a point of contention in the controversy. At least one of his close and powerful friends, A. E. Dunning, editor of the Congregationalist, had challenged Gladden's right to speak on the issue as Moderator. Although the only recorded evidence that Gladden was criticized on this account is in the form of a few letters in his incoming correspondence, it must have caused him more than a little anguish as attested by the attention he gave to it.

Dunning wrote the letters in question.[1] In the first letter, Dunning, editor of the Congregationalist, wrote that he had held up an article of protest submitted by Gladden for publication because "it did not seem to me quite fair for you to address the officers of the Board first through the press." This because of Gladden's "official position." Dunning counseled, "your utterance as Moderator of the National Council should be most deliberate and carefully considered." After all, said Dunning, "the moderatorship of the National Council bids fair to become a valuable means of unifying and leading forward our churches in aggressive missionary work and in their relations with other denominations." Since Gladden had already done such a magnificent job of uniting all "parties" in the church to his own personal leadership, it seemed that he should not risk destroying what had been accomplished by leading one faction against another.[2]

On May 9, another letter from Dunning discussed: 1) A mysterious paragraph which the Congregationalist editor declined to publish; and 2) Gladden's Young's Hotel address. Dunning made it clear that he refused to publish

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[1] A. E. Dunning to Gladden, March 20, 1905, May 9, 1905.

[2] A. E. Dunning to Gladden, March 20, 1905.

Gladden's paragraph because he (Dunning) "objected to your assuming the leadership of a party in the denomination while Moderator of the National Council." Gladden was chided for not inviting a more representative group to hear his address at the hotel, an act "that would have been considered an appropriate service for the Moderator of the National Council." And the address, published after that meeting, was, as Dunning saw it, "a rebuke to the denomination of which you are popularly regarded as the official head." Indeed it was hard for Dunning

> to see how you can continue to desire to exercise a representative function for the denomination, or how you can persuade the public that you lay that function aside when you are issuing statements on a subject in which the whole denomination is interested.

Dunning concluded that he was sure "the 'representative function' of the Moderator has been weakened by these recent events."[1]

In view of Dunning's concern, it may be to the point to review what was involved in the office of Moderator of the National Council of Congregational Churches. The Council itself had been formed in 1871 in order to give the Congregationalists a means of expressing themselves with greater impact on the national scene.[2] There had been considerable discussion in the first Council over the office of Moderator. But it was concluded then that the

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[1] Dunning to Gladden, May 9, 1905.

[2] Atkins and Fagley, op. cit., pp. 208-219.

Moderator's function should be that of presiding over the deliberations of the Council, and when that body adjourned, his duties ended. For thirty years it was done that way. However, the Moderator immediately preceding Gladden added a dimension to the function of the office by visiting many of the churches in different parts of the country. This round of visitation was met with mixed feelings by the Council. Thus, according to Atkins and Fagley, at the very next Council meeting, held in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1904, a group brought in the following memorial:

> We humbly request the National Council of Congregational Churches to make it plain that the Moderator of the Council is the presiding officer during the meeting over which he is elected to preside, but that he has no advisory powers over the Churches between the sessions of the Council.[1]

A special committee was appointed to study the memorial and bring in a report. Their report stated that there could be a place for interpreting the function of the office of Moderator as being somewhere between that of a full-time position, and one which merely required presiding at Council meetings. There could be, the report argued, room for variance within limitations, and the Council should "entrust its interpretation to the wisdom and loyalty of its incumbent."[2] With their report the committee proposed the following resolution which was immediately adopted and made a by-law:

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

> Resolved: That, in view of the widening opportunities of Congregationalists and the increasing desire for fellowship through denominational representation, it is the sense of this Council, that the Moderator interpret his position, generously, as having in addition to presiding duties, a representative function; that visiting upon invitation, churches and associations, so far as he may be able and disposed; addressing the churches, if in his judgment occasion requires it; and, in general, serving the churches be regarded as his prerogative.
>
> But it is understood, that all his acts and utterances shall be devoid of authority and that for them shall be claimed and to them given only such weight and force as there is weight and force in the reason of them.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

Gladden was elected Moderator at that 1904 Council meeting. His own report shows that he took his "representative" function seriously. He states that "if to be 'in journeyings often' is the proof of an apostolate, mine was well established."[2] But he would brook no interpretation of the position as one that would in any sense restrain his life-long practice of letting all concerned know exactly where he stood on an issue. A muzzle would not be an acceptable vestment for the position. Yet Gladden did not wish for any of his words to be amplified because of his office. He explained in his Young's Hotel address that the statement made there

> expresses the opinions of the man whose name is signed to it, and it has no other force than that which is found in the truth and reason which it may embody. The writer has no other claim to be heard than that he is a Christian minister, deeply interested

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 221.

[2] Gladden, *Recollections*, p. 401.

> in the application to all life of the law of Christ, and a Christian citizen seriously impressed with the social perils now threatening this nation.[1]

If anything, Gladden no doubt saw Dunning's position as simply untenable, for it, in the name of something less sacred (denominational unity and appearances), would have sacrificed a man's right and duty to let the world know his opinions. As Gladden put it:

> If the Congregationalists have created a position in which a man is prevented from speaking what he believes to be true and important, the Congregationalists have committed a deadly sin against the light.[2]

C. The identification of Gladden's supporters; his acknowledgment of opposition:

> *There is another deprecatory word which we have frequently heard, and to which I wish to allude.*
>
> *"Why introduce into this assembly disturbing and divisive questions?" I am asked. The answer is first, that those who think as I do are not responsible for the introduction of these questions; the officers of the Board themselves have introduced them. The question must mean, then "Why not agree to this statement of principles without debate, and avoid all unpleasant discussion?" It seems to be assumed that any dissent from this statement can only arise from a litigious and quarrelsome temper, or an undue willfulness or vanity, or some other phase of depravity.*
>
> *I wonder, dearly beloved brethren, if we are asking too much when we ask to be judged a little less harshly than this. The men who are protesting here today against the policy of the Prudential Committee are not seeking notoriety: they have no particular occasion to do anything of the sort. They are not dissenting because they like to be contrary; they are not unmindful of the injury which such a discussion may inflict upon the work of the Board. Perhaps they feel this injury as keenly as others.*

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[1] Gladden, "Dr. Gladden Makes Reply," Boston Evening Transcript, April 27, 1905.

[2] Ibid.

> *Such men as William J. Tucker, and William H. Ryder, and John Bascom, and Reuen Thomas, and Philip Moxom, and William V. W. Davis, and Daniel Evans, and Hugh M. Scott, and E. D. Curtis, and E. G. Updike, and Charles M. Sheldon, and Charles R. Brown, and Sydney Strong, and Artemus Haynes, and Lewis O. Brastow, and Newell Dwight Hillis, and Frank S. Fitch--I name but a few out of many--have earned the right to be regarded by you not as pestilent egotists and disturbers of the peace of the churches, but as loyal Congregationalists. They have a right to be fully credited when they say that they dissent from the statement of principles here presented because it is their profound conviction that the policy declared and implied in that statement and illustrated in recent acts of the Committee must, if persisted in, work deep and deadly injury to this Board, to the Congregational churches, and to all the interests of the Kingdom of Heaven.*
>
> *They do not think, and they have never said anything which implies, that the members of this Committee or the officers of this Board intend any such injury. They know that the interests and purposes of these men are just as honest as their own. It is the tendencies and consequences of their policy that we are discussing; not their intentions. Men with the best intentions may do a great deal of harm; and it is not an unfriendly act to point out to them consequences which they do not see and from which they would surely shrink.*

Obviously, the "officers" of the Board had introduced the question of seeking gifts from questionable sources. They had introduced it by actually seeking and accepting such. And the several questions growing out of it were raised when the Prudential Committee published its Statement of Principles and sent copies of it to every corporate member, requesting "a free expression of opinion and for such suggestions as may help to a satisfactory solution of the question."[1]

Those familiar with the history of the Board should have recognized their antagonist, as he had been cast in that role a quarter-century before. The earlier dispute was over a statement of faith, or "creed," which the National Council of 1881 had directed be drawn up and submitted to the churches for ratification.

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[1] "What Is Good Money For Missions?" Congregationalist, XC, (August 26, 1905), p. 281.

Gladden led the liberal side in this fight. The creed was rejected by the Board as too liberal, and they even refused to send missionaries out who espoused it. Gladden sided with the liberals, and, after twelve years of controversy, the liberals won out.[1]

Now Gladden appeared again as an antagonist, and, he said, he was not alone in his opposition. If he were to be criticized for carrying the controversy too far when no one else of substance cared anything about it, then his audience had best wake up to the fact that several persons of character and ability felt the same as he did. It had not been easy to gather such support even though there were some who agreed with Gladden from the first. Dunning implied in his letters that the feeling on both sides of the question was high. On March 20 he wrote that there was "a good deal of feeling . . ., not all of it kindly, toward the officers of the Board," being aroused.[2] On April 3 he wrote to Gladden:

> At this very moment there is a mass meeting of bewildered ministers down in Pilgrim Hall who are

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[1] For an outline of the discussion over the creed, see Starkey, op. cit., pp. 268-269.

[2] A. E. Dunning to Gladden, March 20, 1905.

> emphatically expressing their astonishment at one another. I have never seen a time when able and conscientious men were more earnestly opposed to one another on a religious question . . .[1]

It was clearly Gladden's intention to capitalize on the good names of his supporters, but there were probably never as many of them as he hoped for. As early as April 1, even before it had been discovered that the gift had been solicited, 29 "ministers and members of the Congregational Church" had signed a "protest" against acceptance which was printed in the Congregationalist.[2] There all 29 names of the "protestants" were boldly displayed under the statement. Later, on May 6, a group of protestants published a paper entitled, "The Issue Before the Church Which Has Grown Out of the Acceptance of the Rockefeller Gift." This was put into pamphlet form with the names of 116 clergymen from 32 states affixed.[3] But there had never been a place where claims of more impressive numbers could be made. And it was clear that the members of the Board and its Prudential Committee had already taken a poll internally and found themselves almost unanimously in favor of supporting the Committee's deed and word.

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[1] Dunning to Gladden, April 3, 1905.

[2] "Mr. Rockefeller's Gift to the American Board: Opinions Favorable and Unfavorable to its Reception," Congregationalist, XC (April 1, 1905), p. 424.

[3] Charles L. Noyes, et al., "The Issue Before the Church," n. p., May 6, 1905. [Discovered in the Oberlin College library.]

In his attempt to change this group's opinion, Gladden would no doubt have concurred with the historian's judgment that he faced "overwhelming odds."[1] But he did not feel that he faced them alone; certainly he did not want his fellow Board members to think that he stood by himself. In fact, if they were going to question his temper, or his motives, or his loyalties, they would have to call into question several other men on the same basis. Among these the name of William J. Tucker appeared. Tucker, an ordained Congregational minister, was at the time president (since 1893) of Dartmouth College. A church historian refers to him as "an important figure in the development of liberal theology and the social gospel."[2] John Bascom was also named. Also a Congregational clergyman, he had been one of Gladden's teachers at Williams College. Leaving there in 1874, he served as president of the University of Wisconsin until 1887, then he returned to Williams, where, at the time of the protest, he was Professor of Rhetoric.[3] Reuen Thomas with a German Ph. D., was widely acclaimed as a preacher, and at the time of the protest, was pastor of a Congregational church in Brookline,

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[1] Dorn, op. cit., p. 336.

[2] John W. Leonard, ed., Who's Who in America: Biographical Dictionary of the Notable Men and Women of the United States, 1903-1905 (Chicago: A. N. Marquis & Company, 1905), p. 1507; Robert T. Handy, ed., The Social Gospel in America, p. 122.

[3] Gladden, Recollections, p. 74; see also John W. Leonard, Who's Who . . ., 1905, p. 85.

Massachusetts.[1] Newell Dwight Hillis was a compatriot of Gladden's in the social gospel movement. He had succeeded David Swing as pastor of Central Church, Chicago, and, at the time of the protest, was pastor of Henry Ward Beecher's old Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, New York.[2] Charles M. Sheldon, pastor of the Central Congregational Church in Topeka, Kansas, was probably best known as the author of the best-selling novel of the social gospel, In His Steps (1896).[3] Hugh M. Scott was a Congregational clergyman, and at the time a Professor at Chicago Theological Seminary.[4] Charles R. Brown, who was later to become a Moderator, has been identified elsewhere.[5] Lewis O. Brastow was also a Congregational clergyman, and a Professor in the Yale University Divinity School.[6]

If the Board members were to think ill of him, then they must also do so of these men; and that did not appear likely. Their motives were certainly above question. If the account of contemporaries can be trusted, so were

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[1] Atkins and Fagley, *op. cit.*, p. 383; John W. Leonard, *Who's Who . . ., 1905*, p. 1473.

[2] Atkins and Fagley, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

[3] *Ibid*; also Leonard, *Who's Who . . ., 1905*, p. 1340.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1315.

[5] Atkins and Fagley, *op. cit.*, p. 406; Leonard, *Who's Who . . ., 1905*, p. 181.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

Gladden's. He was not contentious. If anything, he was one to bring opposing parties together. In 1895 the editor of the Outlook said in reference to Gladden:

> He who would mediate between contending interests must be blessed with a good temper, as Dr. Gladden is, and the quick sense of humor . . . . 'Bad philosophy,' he tells us, 'has slain its thousands, but bad temper its tens of thousands.' The man who cherishes towards his neighbor an unkind or censorius feeling because of differing opinions seems to him in need of being born again . . . . The LL. D. conferred last summer by the Roman Catholic University of Notre Dame attested the impression which his impartial mind and fraternal human feeling, manifested sometimes at the cost of vituperation by bigots, has made upon theological opponents.[1]

This reference could not be interpreted so as to place Gladden among *pestilent egotists and disturbers of the peace of the churches*. As to his loyalty, another contemporary could only say that Gladden "to the end of his life . . . remained deeply Christian and a lovable person, . . . dedicated to the high interpretation of true Christian teachings."[2]

Gladden was leading his associates in this controversy only because they wished to save the Board's representatives from making a serious mistake.

D. The position of the Prudential Committee; their Statement of Principles and its support; Gladden's criticism of the Statement:

I come now to the "Principles" formulated for the guidance of the Board, with what they involve and imply.

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[1] "Washington Gladden," Outlook, LII (November 9, 1895), p. 745.

[2] Atkins and Fagley, op. cit., pp. 249-50.

Principle One is defective in its statement of the purpose for which the Board was organized. It is much more than "a corporation to carry on missionary work and to receive gifts for that purpose." In the words of President Tucker: "The Board is not primarily a depository for the reception of unsolicited gifts, nor even an agent or trustee for their disbursement. Primarily, the Board, as it exists today, is a powerful organization for the solicitation and direction of funds toward missionary ends. Its work in these regards is as positive and aggressive as its work in the field. Principles one and two virtually ignore the whole matter of solicitation in which present issues for the most part lie." It is this function which we must keep clearly before us in the entire discussion. It is what has been done in the exercise of this function, and nothing else, that has provoked all this controversy. Yet the entire argument of the Prudential Committee, as it has been presented to the public, has ignored this fundamental issue. I think that a great deal of moral confusion has been caused by this evasion; and I hope that we shall be able here to get the main question clearly before us.

What was the real question at issue? Strong, one of the chroniclers of the Board's history, says that the controversy precipitated several questions:

> Did the acceptance or solicitation of this gift imply an endorsement of the Standard Oil Company's business methods or any judgment as to Mr. Rockefeller's personal character? Did it compromise the ethical standards which a Christian missionary society should maintain? Did the reception of a gift bestowed in this way bring the receiver into any silencing partnership with the giver?[1]

Nevins states that this controversy raised the question, "Were the churches too dependent upon and obsequious to wealthy men?"[2] These statements bear some relevance to the issue at hand, but none of them fairly summarizes what Gladden saw as the central concern. As a matter of fact, defining and focusing the attention of all interested parties on the main issue was a continuing problem for Gladden and his fellow protestants.

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[1] William E. Strong, The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910), pp. 488-489.

[2] Nevins, op. cit., II, p. 540.

At the outset, when the gift was believed to have been volunteered, Gladden and his colleagues in the fray simply stated that the gift should be returned because it was well known that its donor had acquired his wealth unjustly. And, it was urged, no future gifts should be accepted from such sources. In his opening salvo against accepting the gift, delivered in his evening sermon of Sunday, March 26, Gladden declared that the money "offered" had been gained by a man whose business methods represented "the most relentless rapacity known to modern commercial history." One may argue that there is so much good that can be done with the money that its source can be ignored, he went on, but no gentleman who calls himself a Christian would advise this. He told his congregation that evening:

> It is just here that we need to call into our counsels the Christian gentleman. From him it is needful to accept the suggestion that we cannot afford to enter into alliances with one whose conduct we are bound to denounce and oppose. We cannot accept favors from one whom we ought to resist as a public enemy. It is dishonorable to do it. And we, in our administration of the high trusts committed to us, must not fall below the standards of a Christian gentleman.[1]

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[1] Gladden, "The Religion of a Gentleman."

The response to his widely-publicized remarks of that evening, and to a more detailed protest lodged with the Prudential Committee itself three days later,[1] was, at least in the religious press, consistent rejection. The editor of the Congregationalist summed it up in one of the first published responses:

> It [the Board] cannot decline money from a certain individual against whom at the moment popular indignation is directed without taking on for all future time the responsibility of adjudicating upon the righteousness of any man's gift, whenever a group of respectable persons shall protest against receiving it.[2]

The Outlook echoed, "It is not the business of a church, charitable organization, or missionary society to sit in judgment on the character of the contributions [sic] to its work." A week later the Outlook reaffirmed its stand, this time quoting Jesus Christ in support of its case. Judging the donor would violate the "fundamental principle" implied by Jesus in his "aphorism", "'Judge not, that ye be not judged.'"[3] Thus, the arguments ran, whenever a gift is offered, all the Board can do is accept it; after all, "is the ordinary board of directors competent to pass judgment upon the character of possible givers and upon their methods of making money?"[1]

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[1] Ohio State Journal, March 27, 1905; Boston Herald, March 29, 1905.

[2] "Mr. Rockefeller's Gift to the Board," Congregationalist, XC (April 1, 1905), p. 421.

[3] "Mr. Rockefeller and the American Board," Outlook, LXXIX (April 1, 1905), p. 768; "Judge Not," Outlook, LXXIX (April 8, 1905), p. 871.

The rationalizations offered for acceptance (or against rejection) mounted. The Congregationalist said:

> There are other universally applicable, more normal and more effective ways of curbing the money power in this country than by turning down Mr. Rockefeller's gift to the American Board.[2]

Again the Outlook echoed,

> "There are other and more effective ways in which the Church can express its condemnation of condemnable methods of money-getting."[3]

So it went. Robert Louis Stevenson was quoted "from memory": "There is so much of good in the worst of us, and so much of bad in the best of us, that it is not wise for any of us to sit in judgment on the rest of us." It was stated, "Every man is a composite. No saint is perfectly saintly; no sinner is entirely depraved." And again, "No man is so good that his bad deeds are not to be condemned; no man is so bad that his good deeds are not to be commended." Christ did not rebuke the "woman of the town" who came to anoint his feet, neither did he rebuke the corrupt tax-gatherer who offered to give half his fortune to the poor. To refuse the gift would be to "express disapprobation of a man when he was doing an act of benevolence." The gift had already been accepted and it would be unfair to the missionaries whose work it was going into to reject it. An overwhelming number of the Board members had expressed the opinion that it should be accepted and the Prudential Committee had no right to go against that "judgment." To return the gift would be to pass judgment on the donor's character, and that would be a wrong to the church of which he was a member. If necessary, his own church should try him.[1] Clearly there was strong feeling that no attempt should be made by the Board to bring judgment upon the donor, the gift should be accepted. The first of the four items in the Prudential Committee's Statement of Principles thus read:

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[1] "Mr. Rockefeller's Gift . . .," Congregationalist, XC (April 1, 1905), p. 422.

[2] Ibid.

[3] "Mr. Rockefeller and the American Board," Outlook, LXXIX (April 1, 1905), p. 768; "Judge Not," Outlook, LXXIX (April 8, 1905), p. 871; "The Prudential Committee's Report," Outlook, LXXIX (April 22, 1905), p. 967.

> (1) Organized as a corporation to carry on foreign missionary work and to receive gifts for that purpose, the American Board has not been given the authority to discriminate between those who offer such gifts, and thereby to judge the character or reputation of the donors. It is not a beneficiary from the gift, but only an agent or a trustee for others.[2]

Gladden, quoting Tucker for support, pointed out that this statement of the Committee ignored the key issue of solicitation at hand because the Committee had in fact engaged in solicitation.

Gladden and his fellow protestants tried to make the issue clear. In the opening sentence of his address at Young's Hotel Gladden said:

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[1] *Ibid*.

[2] Appendix.

> It seems important to those who feel that a mistake has been made in soliciting and accepting a large gift from Mr. Rockefeller to the American Board that the grounds of their opposition should be more fully set forth than has been possible hitherto.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

In their position paper, "The Issue Before the Church Which Has Grown Out of the Acceptance of the Rockefeller Gift," the protestants asked:

> Shall we declare our willingness to receive and our determination to seek gifts from all sources, regardless of their moral quality, and our irresponsibility in any relations which may thus be entailed?[2] (Emphasis supplied.)

Three weeks before the Seattle meeting, Gladden published his response to the Prudential Committee's Statement of Principles in the *Congregationalist*:

> The radical defect of the committee's statement is, . . ., its evasion of the real question at issue. A plausible excuse may be given for accepting voluntary gifts from doubtful sources; but the question before us concerns the solicitation, rather than the acceptance of gifts. There is very little danger that donations will be proffered to the Board by persons with whom association would be compromising; the only practical question is whether we shall seek out such persons and solicit their cooperation.[3] (Emphasis supplied.)

The *Outlook's* editor caught on to the point Gladden was attempting to make, but even then he attempted to pass the matter by by simply restating the Committee's statement that they felt morally bound to seek gifts everywhere.[1] Of course, that may have only served to emphasize that it was actually the Committee itself which was raising the issue of solicitation.

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[1] Appendix.

[2] Noyes, *op. cit*.

[3] Gladden, "What Is Good Money For Missions?: Dr. Gladden Again Protests," *Congregationalist*, XC (August 26, 1905), p. 281.

E. Gladden's contention against the Board's position that it was only a holding and dispersing body; Gladden's contention that the Board's actions ultimately reflected upon the churches:

> *I would not, however, evade the question to which the committee has sought to confine our thoughts. If the Board were simply, in its Home Work, a depository for the reception of gifts, the ethical principles which should govern its action are not clearly stated by the committee.*
>
> *It may be granted that gifts which come from unknown sources, uninvited gifts, like those which are dropped upon the contribution plate, may be taken without questioning. To learn the source of all such gifts would be impossible, and we are not advocating absurdities. Offerings that are made without ostentation, before which no trumpets are blown, which expect no recognition, may be freely received, and no possible harm can be done.*
>
> *But when the giver comes with his gift and asks us to accept it publicly and formally at his hands, the question is very different. "A gift"--I am quoting from a manuscript in my possession--"a gift requiring an act of acceptance differs in several ways from one that obeys the Biblical injunction of not letting the left hand know what the right hand does, in that its effect upon the community at large is to be considered. If the community suffers in its ideals of honesty from such an acceptance, there is a very serious issue raised. Gifts requiring an act of acceptance, and those which do not, belong to different categories; and there is no use in confusing the issue by talking of them as if they differed only as to size. The offering which comes unostentatiously, through the regular channels, can have no unworthy motive attached to it; the public gift may be prompted by many considerations, some good, some bad and others merely indifferent."*
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> *This distinction, by the way, entirely disposes of the contention that we are seeking to prevent unworthy men from doing good with their money. Any rich man who is*

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[1] "Should the Source of Gifts be Scrutinized?" Outlook, LXXXI (September 2, 1905), p. 9.

> *willing to make his gifts impersonal and secret will find no difficulty whatever in bestowing them.*
>
> *It is only gifts which require some public recognition of the giver, and which connect themselves with the giver, about which any question can be raised. Every such gift represents the giver. His character is more or less reflected in it. Property, as Hegel has so truly said, is an extension of the personality, and the personality can never be eliminated when gifts are publicly made.*
>
> *It is often said that one man's dollar is as good as another man's dollar, but that is far from true. One dollar lying in a pile of dollars may be as good as any other dollar in that pile; but one man's dollar is not as good as another man's dollar, because the man is the coefficient of the dollar. What did Jesus say about the poor widow's mite? He said that it was more than all the gifts dropped into the treasury by the rich men. It was worth more to the Kingdom of God. Would you have replied to him that one mite is just as good as another mite, and that since some of those rich had cast in a thousand mites, their offerings must be worth a thousand times as much as hers? Would you have argued that way with Him? If you believe that there is any truth in what he says then one man's dollar is not as good as another man's. It is not only the man behind the gun who makes the difference: it is the man behind the dollar quite as truly. And the church which loses sight of this distinction, or suffers it to be blurred, is on the way to apostasy.*

Gladden could not avoid responding to the Committee's contention that it was only a *depository for the reception of gifts*, that it had no authority whereby it could discriminate between offerings. Most obviously, he could not avoid it because the Committee itself had raised the question; less obviously, because he had faced a similar issue in his own church in Columbus. According to Dorn, Gladden's "greatest embarrassment" during the course of the discussion (and for some time before and after it) probably emerged from the fact that Samuel B. Hartman, founder and owner of the Peruna Patent Medicine Company, worshipped regularly at his church. For a long time, Peruna had been publicly suspected of being nothing more than cheap whiskey. Gladden's attitude toward Hartman is not known. Neither is it known to what extent Hartman contributed to the support of the First Congregational Church. We do know that Hartman was indeed a member of the church; we know that Gladden officiated at the marriage of Hartman's daughter to the man who later took over the operation of the company. We also know that both Hartman and his son-in-law were listed in the church's official records as contributors. And, finally, it is known that Gladden was challenged on their presence and the part it was presumed they and their money played in the life of his church, especially during the course of the controversy under scrutiny. However, Gladden nowhere ever refers to them, but perhaps that is because, as Dorn puts it, "What Hartman dropped silently into the collection plate was neither personally solicited nor publicized."[1]

The favorable personal publicity which Gladden felt necessarily gravitated toward the donor of the gift in question was totally unmerited, and reflected badly upon the organization stimulating it (ultimately, in this case, the Congregational denomination). This Gladden attempted to communicate from the beginning. In his Sunday evening sermon of March 26 he concluded:

> We do not want this man's money. To accept it will be to invite the contempt of millions of honest

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[1] Dorn, op. cit., pp. 330-333.

> men; to reject it will strengthen our churches in the affection and respect of millions who are inclined to doubt whether the churches love God more than Mammon.
>
> Our missions will be richer and stronger without it than with it; and we shall lose nothing by our loyalty to the things unseen and eternal.[1]

In his Young's Hotel address he declared:

> The truth is that the great masses of the American people have a very clear and positive opinion respecting the sources from which this gift has come. No casuistry will change their minds. They never can be persuaded that friendship with such malign powers is not suspicious and shameful. They will insist on believing that churches as well as men are known by the company they keep, and they will never be convinced that a church which cultivates the society and cooperation of such men is a true representative of Jesus Christ.[2]

If ever there was a place for applying the ancient cliche, "It is not the money, it is the principle of the thing," this was the place. Gladden did not merely contend against the acceptance of the gift; he contended against the damage acceptance would do in terms of the public's opinion of the churches. If the churches accepted money from this man, then the public had no choice but to identify them to some extent with the same low motives associated with him in the popular mind. To the degree this occurred, the churches would be weakened in their power.

For Gladden, the power of the churches lay in their capacity to influence persons for good, it was the power of public opinion. In 1898 in his classic, The

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[1] Gladden, "The Religion of a Gentleman."

[2] Gladden, "Dr. Gladden Makes Reply."

Christian Pastor and the Working Church, he had declared that the minister's authority must be confirmed by the methods of influence.

The days when people would allow themselves to be directed autocratically were gone, he said. This was shown by the demise of government by ruler in Europe, and also by the Pope's growing "sensitiveness to popular opinion."[1] It was, he argued, the role of the churches in society to change that society for good by the power of influence that they could bring to bear. They had no other power for accomplishing the mission that was definitely their's.[2] Therefore, anything that diminished the strength of the churches' influence hurt them in the worst of all possible ways. For Gladden, this was "the vital element in the whole discussion."[3]

Gladden discussed the subject of public opinion at length in his book, Ruling Ideas of the Present Age, published in 1895. In it he contended that the creation and diffusion of a "sound" public opinion was the "primary" social duty of every individual and organization. Public opinion, he said, is the "motive power" of democratic institutions. To Christian society, it bears the same relation "that protoplasm bears to life."[1] What, specifically, is public opinion? It is "the aggregate opinion of all the people, the resultant movement of the various thought of many men with many minds."[2] For a sound public opinion to exist information must be fully shared, and the public must be encouraged to share viewpoints.[3] Gladden recognized that both these requirements were hard ones. People did not naturally keep well informed. When they did, it was more likely to be on an exotic subject remote from them, about which they could do little or nothing, than about a subject near at hand where their actions could be felt immediately. Gladden saw clearly that this was not a mere quirk of human nature, it was, no doubt, a response out of fear. One was not likely to be hurt by a second-hand "involvement" with faraway issues. But open self-declaration on the local level could bring immediate and painful retribution. Gladden wrote:

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[1] Gladden, The Christian Pastor and the Working Church (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898), pp. 64, 65.

[2] Ibid., pp. 46-49.

[3] Gladden, "What Is Good Money For Missions?: Dr. Gladden Again Protests," Congregationalist, XC (August 26, 1905).

> How few men we find in any community, who have the courage of their convictions upon questions that concern the public welfare,--who are willing to speak right out in criticism of that which is palpably wrong. How many there are who are ready to say, when you appeal to them for support in any enterprise which involves conflict with evil powers: "I shall be glad to aid you financially, but it must be confidential; my name must not appear; I cannot

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[1] Gladden, Ruling Ideas of the Present Age, (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1895), p. 191.

[2] Ibid., p. 207.

[3] Ibid., pp. 208, 211-212.

> afford to have it known that I am identified with the scheme." Assistance of this sort is really worth very little. Many of our reforms have split upon this rock. What is most wanted is something that money cannot buy; it is precisely that which these crafty citizens withhold,--the personal influence and support of the reputable classes. If all men who sit in their counting rooms and write their checks in aid of good causes would come out into the public square and declare themselves the friends of these causes, there would be very little need of money; an invigorated public opinion would push the enterprise to its goal.[1]

Gladden felt, as did his colleagues, that to accept the gift would be to weaken the power of the churches to influence the expression of public opinion. In "The Issue Before the Churches . . .," his associates wrote:

> It is made clear that the moral influence and authority of the Church is at stake in this decision.
>
> . . . .
>
> The Church is on trial. There seems no limit to the welcome and homage awaiting her if she stands out clear as caring first for right and for men, and no man can measure the scorn, and revulsion from her, of the finer conscience and heroic heart of mankind, if, in this crisis, she is found a traitor to the side of the people, and of truth and honesty.[2]

He may also have wondered about whether any of the businessmen in the audience would be willing to openly declare opposition to the acceptance of the gift on the basis of its donor's suspect business practices. After all, that was indeed a challenge to express public opinion in an area close to "home." But, regardless of their decision, he was certain that the occasion called for him to express his own deep convictions. He must remain true to his own counsel. He had written:

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 212-213.

[2] Noyes, _op. cit_.

> The beginning of all good fidelity to the trust committed to us is here,--in the willingness to know the truth respecting the interests committed to our charge, and in the readiness to speak the truth we know without fear or favor, on every proper occasion, whether men will hear or whether they will forbear. It is the most elementary of all our public obligations; it is also, I think, the most stringent.[1]

The occasion called for such action; a loud trumpet had been blown before the donor as he had presented his gift. Dunning's Congregationalist, had boldly announced "Good News for the American Board," and in its first praising sentence proclaimed that "a gift of $100,000 has been made to the American Board by John D. Rockefeller." He expounded, "Mr. Rockefeller has made large donations annually to the Baptist Board of Missions but he desires to distribute his gifts in fields not reached by that society."[2] That was "public recognition" enough for Gladden who immediately, the Sunday after the announcement was made, took the first step in his personal campaign to shape public opinion by speaking on the subject before his own congregation. He also sent an article to his denomination's chief publication where its editor, Dunning, should not have been surprised that Gladden would choose to make his opinions known to church members at large before ever addressing the comparatively small number of Board members.[3]

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[1] Gladden, Ruling Ideas...., p. 215.

[2] "Good News for the American Board," Congregationalist, XC (March 18, 1905).

[3] A. E. Dunning to Gladden, March 20, 1905.

Gladden issued a statement to the public press declaring that

> . . . if Mr. Rockefeller brought this money to the altar, confessing that it was stolen money, and that he offered it in restitution, then and in that spirit only could it be accepted.[1]

In addition, Gladden sent a wire to a group of fellow Protestants in Boston requesting them to take steps toward securing an expression of opinion from every Congregational church in the country on the advisability of accepting the gift.[2]

These were broad-gauge measures, it may seem, but Gladden no doubt knew what he was doing, for he had publicly confronted the man behind these particular dollars before.

F. Gladden's rationale for the coinage and use of the phrase, "tainted money;" the record of his discussion of the subject:

> *I believe that I am responsible for the phrase "tainted money," and I wish to defend it as the expression of a most important truth. It has been greatly ridiculed; some of those who agree with me have deprecated the use of it, but I think it conveys a meaning which we must not miss.*

Gladden's interest in the subject of "tainted money" grew out of his study of the phenomenon of the trusts, a theme he discussed from the pulpit as early as 1879.[3]

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[1] Ohio State Journal, March 31, 1905.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Gladden, n. t., Sermon, November 30, 1879, Gladden Papers.

Brown's claim that Gladden's stand on the subject of misbegotten money was one of "life-long" proportions[1] may not have been quite accurate, but it is possible that as early as 1880 Gladden was speaking on it from the lecture platform. There may be reason to suspect that early date, reported in Hurlbut's The Story of Chautauqua,[2] since there is no confirmation for it elsewhere. But it is certainly true that in the late summer of 1889 Gladden entered into a widely-publicized debate on "trusts" with one Mr. George Gunton before the New York Chautauqua assembly. It started out to be a lecture in the assembly's traditional pattern, with Gladden announced to speak on "the Standard Oil Company and its misdeeds."[3]

It may be presumed that Gladden intended simply to speak on the subject of "trusts." At that time he had a prepared lecture on the subject.[4] Among the Gladden Papers there is a long, hand-written manuscript with that one-word title on it. In substance it is what is reported in the New York Sun's account of Gladden's Chautauqua lecture. And it corresponds with what Gladden is reported to have said on the subject at the first "entertainment" in a course sponsored by the Literary Association of the First Presbyterian Church of Columbus in October of the same year.[1] Essentially, the lecture pointed out that there was a tendency toward "combination" in business and industry. The rationale behind this tendency was generally sound. Improved operational methods could be quickly adopted, wasteful competitive energies could be conserved and used in improving the product, and the resultant better product and saving in terms of reduced prices could be passed on to the consumer. However, said Gladden, for the most part, it did not work that way in practice. Methods of production were certainly improved, and competition was done away with, but the result was clearly not an improved product at a lower price; actually it came about that it was only more of the same product at the same, if not a higher price. Combinations were simply a means of assuring that all the money that could be made from a given product went into the pockets of those who had set them up. This was money that should be the consumer's in terms of greater savings. The stock in the companies thus formed was inflated beyond all reason, and behind it all were self-protective actions that were blatantly immoral. And the public was injured further as there was "a tendency toward the suppression of individuality, self-reliance, independence, the man being merged into the larger concern."[1] The chief offender in all this was the Standard Oil Company, said Gladden, and to support his case he used a number of figures drawn from public documents, reports from the press, and personal observation.

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[1] Charles Reynolds Brown, They Were Giants (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), p. 289.

[2] Jesse Lyman Hurlbut, The Story of Chautauqua (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921), p. 180.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Gladden, "Trusts," Sermon-Lecture, n. d., Gladden Papers; New York Sun, August 28, 1889; see also Ohio State Journal, October 25, 1889.

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[1] Ibid.

The reports of the events which took place at Chautauqua that late summer are somewhat confusing. It is known that, immediately after Gladden delivered his lecture, "an officer of the Standard Oil" suggested to Dr. Vincent, the New York Chautauqua's founder and manager, that they should hear the other side of it and suggested further that Mr. George Gunton "of New York" (City) be invited.[2] Gunton (identified for Gladden as a friend to the Standard interests) came, and a public interchange was arranged with Gunton speaking on August 24, and Gladden speaking on August 27, with each invited to question the other after his address.[3] Reports of the spirit of the exchange are mixed. Nevins says that Gladden "cut loose from all restraint in a ferocious assault upon the Standard Oil and its methods."[4] Nevins goes on to describe what happened when Gladden and

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[1] Gladden, "Trusts," op. cit.

[2] Hurlbut, loc. cit.

[3] O. C. Barber, ed., Debate on Trusts: With Other Interesting Articles on the Same Subject by Men of Note (Akron: Beacon Publishing Co., 1889), pp. 119-137.

[4] Nevins, op. cit., II, p. 142.

Gunton were on the platform together:

> Gunton proved one of those maddeningly calm persons who never lose their tempers or their heads. He would place rows of figures on a blackboard and expound them with dispassionate calm. Gladden, more excitable, would rush to the board, shake his fist at the figures, and denounce them as utterly misleading.[1]

The New York Sun, in an editorial printed August 28, saw it differently. Later report was to reveal that the Sun had received $1,000.00 from Standard Oil to publish Gunton's address, thus one might expect its editorial reference to Gladden as "disingenuous and untruthful, . . . a very ignorant and harmless assailant, . . . not worth the notice accorded him."[2] Yet it is Gunton that the Sun's editorial writer takes to task for becoming upset on the platform. He writes:

> Mr. Gunton is a clear-headed gentleman, with no superabundance of sentiment and very little training in debate. Had he possessed more experience, he would have handled the Rev. Washington Gladden much more effectually. He would not have permitted himself to lose his temper . . . . It is only a hasty and hot-tempered man who gets really angry because his opponent is a fool . . . .[3]

How did Gladden actually conduct himself in this situation? We can only speculate. Certainly there is no record anywhere else of Gladden's speaking in any way that was other than quiet, reasoned, and direct. To illustrate again, in another context, Dorn states that it is "inept" to use such words as "thundered" and "harangued" in describing any of Gladden's sermons.[1] About Gunton's speaking habits we only know what is in the *Sun's* editorial.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ida M. Tarbell to Gladden, December 4, 1905; New York Sun, August 28, 1905.

[3] Ibid.

As for Gunton, the man, he was probably best known as the editor and publisher of a magazine called successively *Social Economics* and *Gunton's Magazine*,[2] (referred to by Nevins as *The Social Economist*).[3] Nevins says that the publication was "assisted" by the Standard interests; Mott says that it was "subsidized" by the Standard Oil Company and was frankly the spokesman of trusts, a high protective tariff, and what the Democrats called "special privilege."[4] Nevins says that Gunton "defended the movement toward concentration in industry as inevitable and healthy, however, he did not defend monopoly."[5] And Gunton's magazine was "no mere propagandist publication."[6] If the report of Gunton's ex-wife, the widow of a distinguished Harvard professor, is to be accepted, he (Gunton) received nothing more than expenses for his trip to confront Gladden; however, from June, 1897, through June, 1907,

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[1] Jacob Henry Dorn, III, to Mr. Bill Arter, March 12, 1965, Gladden Papers.

[2] Mott, *op, cit*., III, p. 171.

[3] Nevins, II, p. 517.

[4] Mott, *loc. cit*.

[5] Nevins, *loc. cit*.

[6] *Ibid*.

Gunton reportedly received from $15,000.00 to $25,000.00 per year from the Standard Oil interests (all of it paid by cashier's checks). And from 1890 through 1905 Gunton received $15,000.00 per year from the same source to subsidize his magazine.[1] Gunton's rewards for appearing to defend the Standard Oil Company against Washington Gladden were ample, to say the least.

But aside from the gain that accrued to Gunton, or the diatribes that were launched against Gladden, two notable things came out of the Chautauqua confrontation. First, it introduced a new type of program into the New York assembly. Hurlbut, one of its historians, writes: "So far as I know, this was the first debate on public questions at Chautauqua, and it was succeeded by many others."[2] Second, it captured the directly identifiable attention of the Standard Oil interests. By engaging Gunton, they let Gladden know that he (Gladden) was being heard. He had cracked their facade of pristine silence. From then on, Gladden would know that when he spoke, they would listen.

If it can be said that in 1889 Gladden succeeded in capturing the attention of the Standard, then it can probably also be said that in 1895 he caused it to sit bolt upright. In November of that year he had published in the Outlook an article entitled, "Tainted Money."[1] It was a simply-written piece which began with reference to the fact that several novelists of the day were attempting to describe what manner of life the "plutocratic regime" (big business) was producing. It cited several who had dealt with the subject, and then directed attention to Sir Walter Besant's Beyond the Dreams of Avarice. It was, he said, the story of a young doctor who learns that he is heir to a fortune; it is his, if he will only identify himself as the rightful inheritor and claim it. There is a catch to it, however, in that the money is commonly known to have been accumulated by means which were, if not dishonest, at least nearly so, and many people had been hurt in its gaining. Should the young man identify himself with the fortune that everyone knows has been piled up through devious means? At first, he says "No" to it. But he weakens, accepts, and his life is ruined. Gladden described the end: "All his interest in his profession was lost; his nature grew hard and cynical; his moral sense was blunted; all his ideals were dethroned."[2] Others came to claim this "Mountain of Mammon" but they also felt its blight, as soon as they came within its shadow. It was, said Gladden, a simple case of cause and effect. Then he went on:

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[1] Ida M. Tarbell to Gladden, November 17, 1905; Tarbell to Gladden, December 4, 1905. It should be noted that Gunton is supposed to have told Gladden that he had come to Chautauqua "on his own hook purely and had no connection with any Trust," see Dorn, op. cit., p. 310.

[2] Hurlbut, loc. cit.

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[1] Gladden, "Tainted Money," Outlook, LII (November 20, 1895), pp. 886-887; also see Appendix.

[2] Ibid., p. 886.

> It is not necessary to tell the story, but the psychological study is full of suggestion. One is able to see that money secured by extortion or crime must carry a curse with it to all who, seeing the blood-stains upon it, covet it for themselves. The question of tainted money is a question that this generation must face. There are vast heaps of it on every side of us--accumulations that have been made by methods as heartless, as cynically iniquitous as any that were employed by Roman plunderers or robber barons of the Dark Ages. In the cool brutality with which properties are wrecked, securities destroyed, and people by the hundreds robbed of their little all to build up the fortunes of the multimillionaires, we have an appalling revelation of the kind of monster that a human being may become. Much of this wealth has been gained by the most daring violation of the laws of the land; by tampering with courts of justice; by the bribery of city councils or legislatures, and even of Congress itself; by practices which have introduced into the body politic a virulent and deadly poison that threatens the very life of the Nation. That many of the largest fortunes in this country have some such origin all intelligent men know. Is this clean money? Can any man, can any institution, knowing its origin, touch it without being defiled?[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

It is not made clear what specific incident, if any, provoked Gladden to try to make such a point. Perhaps it came out of a generalized feeling that the subject of the pernicious influence of giant wealth needed to be discussed. Dorn speculates that it stemmed from John D. Rockefeller's lavish gifts to the University of Chicago, from which, a few months earlier, a professor had resigned, presumably because his criticism of trusts offended Rockefeller.[2] It may have been this that Gladden had in mind when he suggested that institutions risked their freedom of expression when they made alliances with plunderers by accepting their gifts.[1] However, it is certain that the message of the article was not missed by the Rockefeller interests. William Rainey Harper, then President of the University of Chicago, sent a copy of the article to Rockefeller. And an associate of the oil magnate wrote to Harper saying that it was "the worst I have ever seen . . . I do not know what can be done about it, if anything."[2]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Dorn, op. cit., p. 312.

The stir was nation-wide and long-lasting. Henry Demarest Lloyd, an anti-combination writer of the day, told Gladden, "Your brave and thoughtful article on Tainted Money is doing good. I hear of it everywhere."[3] As late as January of 1905, Professor Graham Taylor wrote to Gladden rejoicing in a $25,000.00 gift of "clean money" his (Taylor's) work in the Chicago Commons had received.[4]

Gladden himself was obviously satisfied with the position he had taken in the "Tainted Money" article. In

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[1] Gladden, "Tainted Money," p. 887.

[2] Nevins, op. cit., II, p. 284. [The writer believes that the reader of Gladden's "Tainted Money" article would find himself pressed to identify any person or interest in it, unless one were looking with an extremely sensitive eye.]

[3] Quoted in Professor Thomas C. Cochran's annotated edition of Lloyd's, Wealth Against Commonwealth (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), I, p. 202.

[4] Graham Taylor to Gladden, January 4, 1905.

1906 he was to conduct a heated correspondence with the publishers, McClure, Phillips and Company, over the fact that their British counterpart did not wish to include the article in their edition of The New Idolatry. Gladden apparently surprised them by insisting that it remain.[1] But it should not come as a surprise to find that he took the opportunity to remind his Seattle audience that he had indeed coined the noted phrase, and to remind them of the thought behind it.

G. Gladden's personal attitude toward wealth:

> *If money cannot be tainted, then it cannot be sanctified. I hope we are not yet ready to say that there can be no such thing as consecrated money. I trust that that phrase may yet have a real and an inspiring meaning.*
>
> *Other material things may become morally tainted. No woman listening to me would wish to accept, as a gift, and wear with the knowledge of her friends, a fur collar or a diamond brooch of Mrs. Cassie Chadwick's. Why not? It may be just as fine a fur or just as genuine a brooch as any she could buy.*
>
> *But you say that a personal possession like that is different from a gift of money. Yes; the personal connection is more clearly brought to light, but it exists, even in the case of money.*
>
> *Here is a Congregational church on the prairies of Kansas, which has become deeply and enthusiastically enlisted in the work of foreign missions. It has established classes and circles for mission study; it has organized methods of collecting funds among its men, its women and its children; it keeps in closest touch with all the work on the mission field; the spirit of prayer for missions permeates all its assemblies. Finally it adopts a mission*

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[1] Robert McClure to Gladden, February 16, 1906; Robert McClure to Gladden, March 5, 1906. In all fairness it should be reported that the American edition of The New Idolatry was criticized by one reviewer who thought the inclusion of the tainted money discussion would prejudice "some" readers against it. Outlook, LXXXI, (December 30, 1905), p. 1087.

> *school, somewhere in Turkey, and by the most heroic and self-denying efforts it sends a gift of five hundred dollars for the support of that school.*
>
> *The teachers and missionaries all know whence the money came; what inspired it and what goes with it. I care not whether the identical dollars and dimes and nickels contributed by the church are sent or whether the money goes in a draft through a Turkish bank; the source of the gift is known.*
>
> *Now let us suppose that, one year later, some gambler or keeper of a house of prostitution, moved by motives which we will not explore, sends, with some publicity, to the same mission band the same amount of money; and the missionaries know the source of it.*
>
> *Is there no difference, to the missionaries, in these two gifts? Shall we say that since one man's dollar is as good as another man's, the five hundred dollars from the gambler's till will do just as much good on the mission field as the five hundred dollars of the praying, loving, consecrated church? I think we all know better.*
>
> *The one gift comes bringing love and hope and courage with it; every dollar the missionaries use reminds them of the true and tender hearts that are working with them and praying for them: their faith is deepened and their purpose strengthened whenever they think of it.*
>
> *The other gift brings with it the most painful and depressing thoughts; they may be glad that they have the money to use, but they cannot help remembering how dreadful are the sources from which it has come; how many lies and perfidies and cruelties have gone into the gathering of it: how many souls have been ensnared and defiled in heaping it up.*
>
> *One man's dollar is as good as another man's dollar? No such thing as consecrated money? No such thing as tainted money? Nobody says so who is not destitute of moral imagination.*

Gladden nowhere ever fell into the common error of misquoting Paul's first letter to Timothy, making the ancient missionary say that money is the root of all evil.[1] Gladden never taught that at all. As a matter of fact, at a point during the controversy, he preached a sermon before his Columbus congregation on what he would do, if he himself possessed a million dollars.[1] If he had such an amount at his disposal, he said, he would not give very much of it directly to the poor; these people "would be hurt more than helped by every dollar they received as mere charity." He would not start a business because he did not believe he had the ability to manage one. He would not invest it because he would then "be in danger of dying with it in my hands, which is precisely what I would not wish to do."[2] It usually does one's heirs more harm than good to pass any substantial sum of money on to them, he said. What he would do was equip his Columbus church with "a plant and a fund" which would guarantee its continued work in the heart of the city. The next thing he would do is "build a large, elegant bathhouse, and present it to the City of Columbus." Then he would "establish a fund--a pretty large fund--for the maintenance of a fine orchestra, here in the capitol City. [sic]" "Quite a number of the permanent charities of Columbus, . . . besides one or two institutions that are not charities," would receive some of the money. He would also be "strongly inclined" to provide "a sanitorium for the treatment of tuberculosis." And anything left over he would "devote to the erection of model tenement houses, in the neediest portions of the city."[1]

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[1] Of course, what Paul wrote was that "the love of money is the root of all evils, . . ." I Timothy 6:10 (RSV). (Emphasis supplied.)

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[1] Gladden, "Good Stewards," Sermon, May 28, 1905, Gladden Papers.

[2] At the time of his death, Gladden's estate totaled $39,361.94. This included a lot valued at $10,000.00, a savings account of $759.21, personal effects and insurance worth $7,322.73, and $21,270.00 in stocks. Dorn, op. cit., pp. 304-305.

As for the contention that a million could not be honestly accumulated, Gladden reluctantly opined that it might be possible. He said:

> There are those who say that no man ever makes a million dollars in fair business. I have heard good, capable, measurably successful businessmen say that more than once. And when such men say it, I am constrained to feel that the saying must have some foundation.
>
> Nevertheless, I have never been convinced that the saying is true. I have known quite a number of men, worth more than a million, whose fortunes were, I am sure, honestly and fairly made.[2]

Several months earlier he had said:

> It is our duty, first, to recognize the fact that the possession of large wealth is not necessarily a sign of moral delinquency. There is a theory, which is not, as yet, I trust, very widely held, that the ownership of any amount of wealth is proof of wrongdoing.[3]

He seemed to say that it was possible to possess wealth and not be an evil person. Money did not corrupt its possessor; the method of its accumulation well might, however. And, Gladden came to the point with his Seattle audience, the person receiving money is very likely to consider the source, especially noble missionaries out in the field doing the Lord's work, many of them sponsored by this very Board. They were sensitive to such things.

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[1] Gladden, "Good Stewards."

[2] _Ibid_.

[3] Gladden, "My Neighbor the Millionaire," _Congregationalist_, XC (April 1, 1905), pp. 429-430; Reported as the topic of Gladden's Sunday evening "lecture," in the _Ohio State Journal_, November 14, 1904.

Gladden's statement that no woman would want something of Mrs. Chadwick's called up reports of a Cleveland woman who induced several bankers to lend her money on the basis of a relationship she claimed to have with distinguished public men, and the contents of a mythical safe-deposit box.[1] The proper gentlemen of the Board knew of her and of her scarlet reputation.

It would follow, Gladden suggested, that a missionary would feel better about getting money from a *Congregational church on the prairies of Kansas*[2] whose *most heroic* and *self-denying* efforts had succeeded in raising a modest sum to support his work, than he would about a gift from *some gambler or keeper of a house of prostitution.* If the *teachers and missionaries* who were to use the money were aware of the source of the gifts, they would consider what came along with the money. Anyone not *destitute of moral imagination* would see that.

H. Gladden's attitude toward those who had gained great wealth by dubious means; his attitude toward John D. Rockefeller; the contemporary popular interest in men of wealth:

"Money is a symbol"--I am quoting again, at length, from the manuscript of which I spoke--"an outward and

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[1] Mark Sullivan, Our Times: The United States, 1900-1925, II, America Finding Herself (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), p. 631.

[2] About 60% of America's people lived in the rural areas at the time. George E. Mowry, The Era of Theodore Roosevelt: And the Birth of Modern America, 1900-1912 (New York: Harper & Row, 1958), II, p. 12.

visible sign, and if the thing which it symbolizes is worthy, then the gift of it is worthy; if the thing it symbolizes is a thing of darkness and crooked ways, the offer of it is an insult and the reception of it is an immorality. If $100,000 is offered a church the first question to be decided is this: Of what is this money the pledge and token? If it is the sign of hard work, if it tells a story of great energy and much patience, of pluck and endurance, if it means that the possessor of it has refused to be daunted, and has fought a good fight and that his muscles have endured the strain and his heart has not fainted, then it is a very worthy offering, and the man places in our hands a holy and a sacred thing, the very sacrament of his manhood. The offering of it is a credit to him, and the acceptance of it by the church is to be commended.

"If, on the other hand, the money is the outward and visible token of a dishonest career, if the thing it symbolizes is anything that decent men would not touch, if it betokens a life-disgraced by remorseless violence and plunder, if it has been wrung from the helpless, and snatched from the unsuspecting, if it is the shameless representation of a combination that crushes out smaller and less powerful combinations, a pirate upon the sea of industrial life, then the offer of that money is a covert sneer, and the acceptance of it stains the hands held out for it. Is there not something ethically wrong and spiritually degrading about accepting for our holy work money that has been made in the devil's way? Is there not a certain blasphemy in thinking that God's work will suffer unless we use such instruments for its advancement as are provided by the enemies of his Kingdom?

"Suppose such a gift could suddenly assume visible shape of that of which it is the representative, and by some kind of chemico-vital process become the thing it is the symbol of, and right there before the eyes of the recipient he could see, in panorama, the lies and the heartlessness, the competitive knife dripping with the blood of innocent victims, the despair of the man who has been crushed to the wall, and robbed of his living, the midnight scheming of the rogue, the thefts committed under the shadow of laws passed to prevent them,--suppose he could see all these foul shapes before him, a sight more hideous than any in the Inferno, think you he would dare accept that for God's work? Would he not with unutterable loathing cry out, "Take away that foul thing! God's work is dependent on no such ministering agents!"

In his report to his congregation on the Seattle meeting Gladden said on the subject of the representative character of money:

> The great truth is that money is a symbol, with many different meanings. It may symbolize conscience, justice, honor, good will, brotherly kindness; that money we want in our Christian work, and we cannot have too much of it. It may symbolize selfishness, cruelty, perfidy, extortion, contempt for human rights; that money we cannot afford to solicit; its touch is pollution.[1]

In this way Gladden moved around the person who might have been pointed out behind all these arch symbolisms. If Gladden cited Hegel correctly to the effect that "property is an extension of personality," whose personality was extended through the "$100,000.00" offered? Whose was a "dishonest career"? Whose was "a life-disgraced [sic] by remorseless violence and plunder"? Who was the "pirate upon the sea of industrial life"? Who made money in "the devil's way"? Who held "the competitive knife dripping with the blood of innocent victims"? Who was this "rogue"?

He was the one whose personality was extended most notoriously through "a combination that crushes out smaller and less powerful combinations." The historian, Mowry, states that to the American public at the turn of the century the Standard Oil Company had come to represent the "personification" of the combinations which were only beginning then to be referred to as trusts.[2] And, continues Mowry, the public generally believed that inherent in the operation of such combinations were a variety of illegal practices, practices which threatened the positions of small business, labor, and the consumer. As Mowry points out, the Standard Oil Company was but one of many national industrial combines under fire in the public press, and before various state legislatures at the time, but no other company's difficulties before the law got so much attention as did the Standard's.[1] And who was behind the Standard?

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[1] Gladden, "A Long Journey and A Lively Debate."

[2] Mowry, op. cit., I, p. 83.

As of September 1, 1905, "the official examiners of the department of commerce and labor . . . estimated" that one John D. Rockefeller held nearly one-third of the Standard's stock. And, incidentally, from this holding he had received an average income of at least $13,000,000.00 annually throughout the previous eight years.[2]

Clearly it was the Standard that personified the combines at their worst in the public's mind. Also clearly, Rockefeller was probably best known within the Standard. From this combine he had made his fortune. Yet Gladden, in all his known public addresses on the subject of this particular gift, only once referred to the oil magnate by name; and that was in his address at Young's Hotel.[3]

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[1] _Ibid_.

[2] _Detroit News_, September 1, 1905.

[3] "Dr. Gladden Makes Reply."

One could assume from some of the passages in Gladden's addresses in which he discussed "Tainted Money" that he had Rockefeller in mind. For example, on November 29, 1903, nearly two years before the gift to the Board, Gladden addressed his congregation on the theme, "Some Common Ways of Cheating and Stealing."[1] In that address he said:

> The principle to be cleared and fastened in men's minds is simply this, that cheating, in all its phases, is ethically the same thing as stealing; that, with respect to the personal injury suffered by the victim, and the moral injury suffered by the perpetrator, and the social injury suffered by the community, there is no moral difference between the act of the man who steals your horse and the act of the man who fleeces you out of your property by the modern methods of finance.[2]

To illustrate:

> The operations of the Standard Oil Company . . ., are illustrations of . . . this . . . subject. The conspiracy of this company with the principal railroads, by which the rivals of the Standard were not only made to pay twice as much as it paid for the same service, but by which their money was taken from them by the railroads and paid over to the Standard for its enrichment, is the most stupendous, the most monumental robbery known to modern history.[3] (Emphasis supplied.)

And then the finger was pointed:

> Yet the man who has plotted and perpetrated all these villanies which are now being spread before the public has never suffered any kind of punishment, college presidents bow down before him with reverence;

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[1] Gladden, "Some Common Ways of Cheating and Stealing," Sermon, November 29, 1903.

[2] *Ibid*.

[3] *Ibid*.

> in thousands of churches his name is mentioned with awe and praise, and hundreds of thousands of Sunday School children are taught that he is a very religious man and a great benefactor.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

In his sermon, "The Religion of a Gentleman," preached on the Sunday evening after the nation-wide announcement of the gift, Gladden once more outlined what he perceived to be the sins of the combinations, characterized by "the most relentless rapacity known to modern commercial history."[2] He said:

> The man from whom our Missionary society proposes to accept the gift is the great organizer of this system of plunder. His fortune was built on this foundation. He has taught the other plunderers most of what they know about these methods.[3]

As indicated, in only one speech, his address at Young's Hotel in Boston on April 26, did Gladden ever mention Rockefeller by name. On that occasion he is reported to have described the function of the rebate in the business practices of the Standard. He said:

> Of this kind of extortion Mr. Rockefeller has the credit of being the inventor. It was a weapon that he forged and wielded most mercilessly in the destruction of his competitors. Others have since learned the art, but the credit of originating it must be given to him. Is it not entirely clear that no man, with the most elementary notions of justice, could ever have conceived of it?[4] (Emphasis supplied.)

Gladden was not so reticent about referring to

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[1] *Ibid*.

[2] Gladden, "The Religion of A Gentleman."

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] Gladden, "Washington Gladden Makes Reply."

Rockefeller by name in print. In at least three articles prior to the Seattle meeting he directly called into question both Rockefeller's business morality, and his veracity as a sworn witness. In similar articles in the Independent and the Outlook, both printed in April, Gladden first reviewed the rebate practice, and then challenged the Outlook: "Does The Outlook say that we have no right to judge transactions of this nature, or the man who practices them and builds up a vast fortune by means of them?"[1] As for the subject of judging persons, Gladden wrote:

> I speak for myself when I say that, in my opinion, it is not only my right, but my duty, and the duty of every American citizen, to sit in judgment on Mr. Rockefeller and upon the thing which he represents.[2]

In June, Gladden had published an article in the Independent in which he discussed Mr. Rockefeller as a "truth teller."[3] In it he cited several segments of courtroom testimony transcribed from investigations conducted into the Standard's practices. On the basis of these he judged that at best Rockefeller "is willing to use language upon the witness stand in such a way as to convey a false impression, without exposing himself to the penalties of perjury."[4]

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[1] Gladden, "Mr. Rockefeller and the American Board," Outlook, LXXIX (April 22, 1905), p. 985. Also see, Gladden, "The Church and Reward of Iniquity," Independent, LVIII (April 20, 1905), pp. 867-870.

[2] Gladden, "Mr. Rockefeller and the American Board," Outlook, LXXIX (April 22, 1905), p. 984.

[3] Gladden, "Mr. Rockefeller as a Truth Teller," Independent, LVII (June 8, 1905), pp. 1290-1291.

[4] Ibid., p. 1290.

Concluded Gladden, "I have given these citations at some length because I do not wish to have it appear that the credibility of Mr. Rockefeller as a witness has been lightly questioned."[1] It is clear that Gladden had no real fear of charging Rockefeller's name in public print. Why did he not do so in speeches?

The first thing to be noted on this point is that such comments had been specifically provoked in print, at least by the Outlook which had stated at length that they refused to judge any man's motives, especially Rockefeller's, at this critical time.[2] Gladden intended to show them how and why it should be done. The second thing to see is that his speeches were cast in a larger, more spiritual, context, if the reader wills. In them he was contending against influences, trends, movements. The fact of the gift was a past one. In the future, one would be called upon to evaluate first in terms of principles, not in terms of a particular personality. Names would pass away. In his November 29, 1903 sermon he put it:

> This country is not going to sit in its halls of fame the men who practice these arts. Most of these names that are now on everybody's lips will be forgotten before you are dead; if any are remembered it will not be with honor and gratitude. While I have been preparing this sermon, I have been desirous of learning something about some of the magicians of shady finance who have cut a large figure in the

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[1] Ibid., p. 1291.

[2] "Judge Not," Outlook, LXXIX (April 8, 1905), pp. 871-873.

> world during my time, and I have searched the latest and fullest encyclopedias in vain for their names.[1]

Now, before the Board, he was arguing on the basis of principle. Certainly they had had opportunity to become aware of specific names and practices; only that summer Miss Ida M. Tarbell had run a long, two-part article in McClure's on "John D. Rockefeller, A Character Study."[2] We cannot conclude that all the members of the audience would have read Miss Tarbell's study, of course; but Gladden did not intend to chance that, he would refer to this man and his practices in more detail later on.

I. The danger to the churches in dependence upon the rich; the public's opinion of the rich; the contributions of religious teachers to this attitude:

> *Is not that specter visible, even now, in every part of this continent? I think that it is. It may be that there are some who are too blind to see it and some who even count it a ministering angel; but there are millions who behold it in its true light, and whose minds are filled with amazement, yea and scorn, when they behold the figure of the Bride of Christ drawing near to that horror, and supplicating its aid. Would to God that spectacle could be blotted from the sight of men; but it is there, and no veil of sophistry that we can weave will ever avail to hide it!*
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> *I hope I have made plain the truth that money may be and often is a symbol; that it may represent, most vividly, virtuous or vicious character and conduct; and that when it stands for things that are evil and base and*

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[1] Gladden, "Some Common Ways of Cheating and Stealing."

[2] Ida M. Tarbell, "John D. Rockefeller, A Character Study," McClure's Magazine, XXV, Part I (July, 1905), pp. 227-249; Part II (August, 1905), pp. 386-398.

cruel, the church must not welcome even voluntary gifts of it. The church cannot do so without compromising herself. The fact that the donor has a legal title to it does not alter the case. To hide behind a bare legality in such a transaction is shameful.

At this point in the nation's history there were indeed many more than "some" who saw Gladden's *horror* of ill-accumulated wealth as a *ministering angel.* A vast number had come to believe that the achievement of wealth was the natural calling of life. Those who had done so had manifestly fulfilled their destiny. And another vast number in positions of institutional leadership sought by a variety of means to tap to the advantage of their own enterprises whatever reservoirs of wealth that existed.

The climate of public opinion almost overwhelmingly supported those who had risen to positions of wealth, no matter their methods. Parrington, for example, points out that near the end of the 19th century the businessman had usurped an exceedingly large place in American fiction. There had been, he says, an aura of romance pervading the deeds of 1776, but that was now replaced in people's thinking--at least as it was reflected in popular literature--by the achievements of those who took part in profit-making enterprise. According to Parrington, it was the unconscious testimony of literature that business had a hold on the imagination of Americans. The Captain of Industry reached the apogee of his fame in those days. "Here," says

Parrington, "was the real interest of America."[1]

Men of wealth were heroes in the public's mind, and the public press showed it. As late as September 10, 1905, there appeared in newspapers across the country a full-page report on the life and achievements of one James J. Hill.[2] This was a syndicated feature, one of a series on big business leaders. The report was headed: "James J. Hill's Advice to Young Men: Their Opportunities for Success Greater than Ever, says the Famous Railroad Man Who Will Celebrate His 67th Birthday Next Saturday." Mr. Hill came through the report all worthy of emulation; he was described as "ubiquitous, keen, inexorable, and fiercely indomitable, and in action he is all uncharitableness."[3] Such was the stuff popular heroes were made of.

In terms of the study at hand, it is ironic that much of the effort that went into the ennobling of the successful businessmen was contributed by clergymen, especially Congregational clergymen. Wylie, in his book, The Self-Made Man in America, devotes two entire chapters to the way in which ministers helped to fan the passion for wealth.[1] He points out that "one of the impressive facts about the American cult of self-help is that many of its leading proponents were clergymen."[2] They taught that godliness was in league with riches, and so taught each rising generation that it was possible to serve both God and Mammon.[3] Says Wylie, practically every leading Protestant denomination produced its proponent of the gospel of success, but "the Congregational church produced more prominent self-help publicists than any other denomination."[4] He goes on:

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[1] Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920, (New York and Burlingame: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1958), III, p. 185.

[2] New York Times, Detroit News, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 10, 1905.

[3] Ibid.; for more on Hill see Josephson, op. cit., pp. 231-238.

> How much this was due to theology, and how much to the church's dominant position in industrial New England no one can say, but there is a suggestion in the fact that rural clergymen did little to glorify the cult of self-help, while their urban brethren, Calvinists and non-Calvinists alike, preached it as the true gospel.[5]

Some of the publicity given the self-help success philosophy came through public speaking. Again Wylie points out that success lectures were at least as popular as written manuals and constituted one of the most important means of propagating self-help ideas.[1] Through lyceums, mercantile library associations, business colleges, and, of course, their own church pulpits, these clergymen had an opportunity to advance their thesis that success was next to godliness.

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[1] Irwin G. Wylie, The Self-Made Man in America: The Myth of Rags to Riches (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954), pp. 55-74, 116-132; for further comment upon the success-cult phenomenon, see Kenneth Lynn, The Dream of Success: A Study of the Modern American Literary Imagination (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1955); also Mark Rischlin, ed., The American Gospel of Success: Individualism and Beyond (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965); also, John Tebbel, From Rags to Riches: Horatio Alger, Jr., in the American Dream (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963).

[2] Wylie, op. cit., p. 56.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., pp. 57-58.

[5] Ibid., pp. 58-59.

However, it was through the writing of popular self-help manuals that the clergymen made their greatest contribution to the cause. These books, usually light in style, and anecdotal in content, were must reading on practically every schoolboy's list. Several Congregationalists contributed, among them John Todd (The Foundations of Success, 1843), Matthew H. Smith (The Elements of Success, 1854), Francis E. Clark (Danger Signals, the Enemies of Youth from the Business Man's Standpoint, 1885), and Wilbur F. Crafts (Successful Men of Today and What They Say of Success, 1883). Among the best-remembered clergymen to contribute such writings were Henry Ward Beecher (Seven Lectures to Young Men, 1844), and Lyman Abbott (How to Succeed, 1882). The essence of what was taught in these books was hard work, clean living, and faith in God. And if one were to choose business for a career, he could be sure that he could also serve God there. Wrote Theodore Parker, also of Congregationalist heritage, the merchant is

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

> a moral educator, a church of Christ gone into business--a saint in trade . . . the Saint of the nineteenth century is the Good Merchant; he is wisdom for the foolish, strength for the weak, warning to the wicked, and a blessing to all. Build him a shrine in Bank and Church, in the Market and the Exchange . . . no Saint stands higher than this Saint of Trade.[1]

This philosophy not only gave a goal and a means for striving for it, it also gave those who had achieved a measure of success a footing upon which to maintain their position with self-respect. It was Episcopal Bishop Lawrence of Massachusetts who articulated it: "In the long run," he said, "it is only to the man of morality that wealth comes . . . . Godliness is in league with riches."[2] The idea then seemed to easily evolve that nothing could be more natural than that men who had climbed the ladder of business success, men of riches and wealth, should exercise economic and political power in behalf of people who looked to them for leadership. They would exercise a trusteeship, or stewardship, in which the successful protected the interests of the less fortunate through benevolent paternalism.[3] Carnegie summed it up by saying that the man of wealth should consider himself an agent for his poorer brethren, and should bring to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer. He could do for them much better than they would or could do for themselves. He said

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[1] Quoted in Wylie, op. cit., pp. 61-62.

[2] Quoted in Dulles, op. cit., p. 64.

[3] Ibid., p. 64.

> Thus it is the problem of the Rich and the Poor to be solved; . . . The laws of accumulation will be left free; the laws of distribution free. Individualism will continue, but the millionaire will be but a trustee of the poor . . . Such, in my opinion, is the true Gospel of Wealth.[1]

How much of this was acceptable to Gladden's Seattle audience? It can only be offered that they were, in the majority, businessmen. And they were probably quite successful businessmen. They had grown up in an atmosphere where financial success was the measure of a man; they had, no doubt, been weaned on the self-help-to-success literature produced by their Congregationalist clergy and others. And Lyman Abbott, "a true prophet of the success cult," who had written a portion of that literature, rejoicing, for example, in the parable of the talents because he thought it justified his claim that Jesus approved the building of great fortunes, was still prominent as the editor of the Outlook.[2] And it had counseled, "Judge not."

On the other hand, the business practices of the day, especially those of big business, had come in for a great deal of harsh criticism in the few years preceding the turn of the century, and just afterward. The muckrakers were at work revealing various scandals, and the public was beginning to get a different picture of the noble businessman. Clergymen especially were growing tired in the work they had formerly set themselves, stimulating the gospel of success on the one hand, while attempting to keep their eager converts from overstepping the bounds of propriety, on the other. Thus, as Wylie points out, it was no surprise to find the same Congregationalist ministry which had provided so many spokesmen for the self-help cult before 1890, after that date providing spokesmen in reaction against it in terms of the social gospel, Washington Gladden in the forefront.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 64.

[2] Wylie, op. cit., p. 62.

He certainly stood adamantly against the idea that success was to be achieved at any cost. On October 28, 1898, he spoke on the subject, "Choice of Calling and Chance of Success." In that sermon he aimed his remarks directly at the young men in the congregation, saying:

> It is well for us all, . . . , to come to a good understanding with ourselves as to what we mean by success. Is the man who gains money at the expense of manhood a successful man? Which is the more successful--the clerk or mechanic who has lived a clean and upright life believed of his household, respected by his neighbors, blessed by the poor, but has never had an income of a thousand dollars a year, and who dies leaving little more than a good education and the legacy of a good name to his children, or the shrewd and bold operator whose combinations have laid a continent under tribute, whose insidious briberies have corrupted the integrity of many a public servant, whose vast benefactions to education and religion have brought colleges and churches to his footstool, and who leaves to his children a hundred million dollars? I think I know some young men who would rather have the mechanic's self-respect than the adulations and the millions of the plutocrat; and the

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

> number of such young men, I trust, will steadily increase.[1]

The task of motivating men to accept this kind of a view would be difficult, Gladden surely realized. In his sermon of July 5, 1903 he said:

> Today there are those among us who will not worship Mammon, who care more for justice and honor and humanity than for gain, to whom a clean conscience, a heart void of offense and the sense of the reality of human brotherhood are worth more than all the baubles that money can buy. But no one can walk upon the street or ride upon the streetcars and the railway trains, listening to the scraps of talk that fall upon the ear, from the lips of men and women--no one can narrowly observe all that is going on before his eyes in these days without perceiving that that which is external and material commands the allegiance and enthusiasm of the vast majority, and this, I fear, in an increasing degree.[2]

The country was in an unprecedented period of expansion, he said. Getting wealth had people "intoxicated." Getting a little was "like the touch of blood upon the lips of the panther." Imaginations were "set on fire" with possibilities for gain. In America "the fever is in our blood." It drove people with "the lash of the taskmaker, from morning to night and from year's end to year's end." In the face of this, the virtues of the spirit--"justice, truth, honor, brotherly kindness, faith, hope, love"--had little chance.[3]

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[1] Gladden, "Choice of Calling and Chance of Success," Sermon, October 28, 1898, Gladden Papers.

[2] Gladden, n. t., Sermon, July 5, 1903, Gladden Papers.

[3] Ibid.

In his "The Religion of a Gentleman," he warned that "In this commercial age, with the whole population going mad in its quest for money," the church is likely to put too much emphasis on having money and its power without considering the source.[1]

Was Gladden right about the times? Was he putting his finger on an important issue of the day? Perhaps the editorial writer in the Boston Herald of April 28, 1905, came near to answering those questions when he wrote in response to Gladden's address delivered at Young's Hotel in that city the day before:

> Every citizen who has not lost his sense of patriotic duty, every merchant and manufacturer who cherishes a faith that business and honesty are not incompatible, every follower of the lowly Nazarene who scourged the money changers out of the temple in Jerusalem, should read the powerful protest of Dr. Washington Gladden . . . It is a prophet's call to righteousness and cleanness of Christian service, --clear, mighty, ennobling. It will go through the land calling a mercenary and luxurious generation to consideration of the fundamental principles of the higher life and summoning the church of the day to orient itself in preparation for the mission to which it is called in this twentieth century . . . He preaches a gospel that will save America from its besetting corruption, if it can be saved. He does not flinch from assailing as an enemy of Israel the arrogant Goliath of the Philistinism of the time.[2]

Whether any of the Board members ever thought of the Philistines in any terms other than Goliath is a moot question. If they did, they may have had some sensitivity to the point Gladden was trying to make.

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[1] Gladden, "The Religion of a Gentleman."

[2] Boston Herald, April 28, 1905.

J. Gladden's attempt to establish precedent for refusing the gift:

> *I have dwelt upon this phase of the question, not because it is the real question before us, but because it is the phase of the question which has been continually thrust before us from the beginning of this discussion, and because the ethical principles involved greatly need clearing up. The principles which I have laid down have been recognized in all the ages of the church. It has always been understood that the children of God must not be partakers of the rewards of iniquity. From the old day when the children of Israel were forbidden to bring the hire of a harlot into the congregation of the Lord, and when the Psalmist represented Jehova as crying out, "I hate robbery for burnt offering," down through the days of the early fathers and even in the mediaeval church, there has been a constant testimony against all partnership or complicity with evil doers in carrying on the Lord's work. The quality and the curse of tainted money have been well enough known to the saints of all the ages. Even when mediaeval bandits were acquiring merit by gifts to monasteries, the voice of the church was clear in condemnation. It is to be lamented that these first years of the twentieth century have witnessed the attempt to erase this distinction; to repudiate the symbolical character of money, and to obscure the ethical judgment respecting the use of it which moral teachers have always recognized. It is an unfortunate enterprise and it will not prosper, for God is in his world, even though portions of the church are unaware of it, and the ethical judgments of men are sure to be lifted up and purified.*

Gladden took some pride in the fact that in his own area of responsibility he was a competent craftsman. He could do his job as well as the next man could do his. Both the idea that he had of what his work consisted and the sense that he had that he did it well came through in a confrontation once-removed between Andrew Carnegie, the steel king, and himself. From his eminence Carnegie spoke near the beginning of the controversy, saying:

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> If clergymen were to stick closer to the business of the church and devote less time to somewhat wild discussions of the questions which are not intimately related to their work, it strikes me that there would be better results in the church.[1]

In response to this, Gladden said:

> I beg to say that I think I understand my business as well as Mr. Carnegie understands his. My business is to teach and preach sound morals . . . This involves a constant and fearless application of ethical principles to commercial and business methods. The old Hebrew prophets whose teachings I have to interpret and enforce devoted fully four-fifths of all their utterances to just such matters as Mr. Carnegie advises ministers to let alone.[2]

Gladden had a conception of what his job entailed, and he felt that he did it well.

However, when it came to supporting the point that religious institutions should refuse (or not seek) gifts from questionable sources on the basis of historical precedent, the evidence presented was thin. On the contrary, there were some statements made by those in favor of acceptance to the effect that rejection would establish an impossible precedent. Dunning's _Congregationalist_ stated that the logical outcome would be to transform "our boards" into "inquisitional tribunals."[3] If by chance a board were to receive money from a source that had gotten it illegally, then there was an obligation to return it to the rightful owners.[1] The Outlook contended that "money obtained by fraud ought not to be received from a donor under circumstances which imply approval of his methods."[2] Apparently they felt that money known to have been gained fraudulently could be accepted, provided no one was obligated to say either "thank you," or "well done." At any rate, they said, "it may well be affirmed that money ought not to be solicited by religious organizations from men whose method of acquisition is justly subject to general public condemnation."[3] However, since this was written before it came out that the gift had in fact been solicited, the argument did not apply.

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[1] _Ohio State Journal_, April 4, 1905.

[2] _Ibid_.

[3] "Mr. Rockefeller's Gift to the American Board," _Congregationalist_, XC (April 1, 1905), p. 422.

In an article published April 20 in the Independent Gladden took to task those who said that any money was good money. Said Gladden, "They would have taken Judas's thirty pieces of silver, I suppose, and used them for missionary purposes." As for the thought that the church had always accepted any kind of money that came in, that was clearly untrue, he said. In support of this he cited, but demurred to quote, Deuteronomy 23:18, and then quoted one Uhlhorn to the effect that the ancient church would not take gifts out of property not rightly acquired.[4]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] "Mr. Rockefeller and the American Board," Outlook, LXXIX (April 1, 1905), p. 768.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Gladden, "The Church and the Reward of Iniquity," Independent, LVIII (April 20, 1905), p. 870. Deuteronomy 23:18 reads, in part, "You shall not bring the hire of a harlot, . . . into the house of the Lord . . ." (RSV).

Certainly for him the point was that property not rightfully held could be neither given nor received. The secular press seemed to see this; but what really surprised him, said Gladden, was that the religious press seemed to gloss the point entirely. Then he quoted a paragraph from the Memphis Appeal to the effect that if one followed the line of reasoning set forth by some, Captain Kidd's "fence" for stolen booty would be liable under the law for complicity, but if a preacher took the same booty to build a chapel, that would be all right. That did not make sense to Gladden.[1]

On August 26, in response to the issuance of the Prudential Committee's Statement of Principles, Gladden wrote that their claim of non-responsibility for examining the sources of gifts "reverses the ethical principles which have governed the church from the earliest days."[2]

There was a scripture, and tradition established, which repelled the gifts of evildoers from the churches. One could ask what effect these appeals to religious tradition might have upon an audience of Congregationalists who most ardently prized a policy based on independence, rather than a theology based upon either tradition or revelation.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Gladden, "What is Good Money for Missions: Dr. Gladden Again Protests," Congregationalist, XC (August 26, 1905), p. 281.

K. The establishment of the fact of solicitation:

> *The reception of voluntary gifts is not, however, the question before us. No gifts from compromising sources have been proffered to this Board or are likely to be. The practical issue before us concerns the active solicitation rather than the passive acceptance of gifts. Even granting that "the American Board has not been given the authority to discriminate between those who offer gifts," it is certain that the Board has ample authority to discriminate among those from whom it will solicit gifts. It does discriminate among these persons. It has not gone and it will not go to great gamblers or liquor sellers soliciting aid. The suggestion that it might intend to do so has been already indignantly repelled as a slander. The legal title of such persons to the property now in their hands may be perfect, but the officers of the American Board will not seek out such persons and invite their cooperation in its work. It will discriminate against them. The right and the duty of making discrimination among those who are invited to contribute to its treasury will not, I dare say, be disputed on the floor. The line is drawn, and will be drawn. The only question is where it shall be drawn.*

The "practical issue" is the *active solicitation* of gifts. Gladden nowhere argued that gifts should not be sought, nor did he ever suggest that the Board and its Prudential Committee did not have the authority to do so. That he accepted. And he had long since granted that the acceptance of gifts should come as a matter of course in those instances where it would be ridiculous to attempt to discover the morality of the source. Now, however, the question was purely and simply that of how far the Committee was to allow itself to go in the solicitation of gifts.

In his original "tainted money" article in 1895 he had contended that it was out of the question to look into everyone's ethical practices. He wrote:

> It is impossible for us to investigate the business of all our neighbors; it is our duty to assume that they are honest until there is good evidence to the contrary. But when their transactions are flagrant and notorious, we may at least decline to enter into partnership with them in the business of religion or education.[1]

It is when there is "flagrant" and, especially, "notorious" aspects to the behavior of a possible donor that one must exercise discretion.

Especially when one contemplates solicitation of gifts he ought to be careful. And the Board had been. There were a number to whom they would not have thought of going for aid. Gladden indicated some of these, and when he did he was almost paraphrasing his fellow protestant, Charles R. Brown, who had written shortly before the Seattle meeting:

> Do the Congregational churches wish to place themselves on record as affirming such a "principle" as the one offered in the words: "The board cannot properly decline to receive money from its legal owners, provided it is given for the purposes for which the board was established." Carry that out; should we encourage the officers of the board to solicit gifts from the owners of race tracks or other gambling institutions, or from the proprietors of bawdy houses, in the event of their finding such persons to be both rich and benevolently inclined? These persons are "legal owners" of the money in their hands; there is no process of law by which they can be despoiled of the fruits of their pernicious business. No corporate member of the board supposes for a moment that such solicitations of gifts would be either countenanced or contemplated. So the principle of "making some discrimination" between those who are to be asked for gifts is admitted--in declining altogether to solicit contributions from the sources named, the officers have

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[1] Gladden, "Tainted Money."

> "judged" the characters of the persons in question--and it then becomes simply a question as to how far the application of that principle shall be carried.[1]

Gladden was at this point merely reminding his audience of a few self-evident truths.

L. Contemporary reports of the activity of big business; the position of the trust; opposition to the trust offered by individuals and by government:

> *The Committee say that "investigation by the executive officers to determine the sources from which gifts come is neither justifiable nor practical." However this may be it is certainly competent and wise for them to make some inquiry respecting the character and reputation of the persons to whom they apply for assistance. This is the simple, practical question to which the whole of Principle One and Principle Two must be reduced, and the answer is so obvious that I will not waste a word in arguing it.*
>
> *Using the discretion which they must use in soliciting donations, there are one or two simple rules by which they should be guided.*
>
> *In the first place, as we have already seen, they must not seek the cooperation in their work of persons whose gains have been and are being made by scandalous immoralities. About this there is no dispute.*
>
> *In the second place, they must not invite gifts from persons who are conspicuous enemies of society.*
>
> *It is a bitter truth that such a class exists among us, and that the nation is now confronting, with anxiety and fear, the problem of restraining its depredations. The class is composed of persons who have rapidly acquired enormous wealth. The number of these persons is not large, but the power which they have acquired is prodigious. No such aggregation of wealth has ever been known.*
>
> *The existence of such fortunes is prima facie evidence of social injustice. I think that a man may, by means fairly legitimate accumulate a considerable fortune, but no man can possibly render to society a kind and amount of service which shall entitle him, within a generation, to heap up for himself a fortune of a thousand million or*

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[1] Quoted in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 3, 1905.

five hundred millions of dollars. The existence of such fortunes is an enormous peril to a democratic state; they could never have been accumulated, in a democracy, without a great deal of social and political rottenness; and the men who have taken advantage of such conditions, or have, perhaps, helped to create them, in the building of their fortunes, are entitled to be regarded as the most dangerous enemies of society.

Taken from the minutes of the Seattle meeting, the first two Principles in the Prudential Committee's statement are as follows:

> (1) Organized as a corporation to carry on foreign missionary work and to receive gifts for that purpose, the American Board has not been given the authority to discriminate between those who offer such gifts, and thereby to judge the character or reputation of the donors. It is not a beneficiary from the gift, but only an agent or a trustee for others.
>
> (2) While the Board cannot properly accept money from one to whom any of its officers knows it does not belong, it cannot, on the other hand, properly decline to receive money from its legal owner, provided it is given for the purposes for which the Board was established and in accordance with its rules. In the absence of legal proof to the contrary, it is necessary to assume that money belongs to the person making the gift. Investigation by the Executive Officers to determine the sources from which gifts come is neither justifiable nor practicable. (See Appendix.)

Granted that they had the right to seek gifts, it was the Committee's duty to make some prior evaluation of the character of the sources from whom such gifts might be sought. *Scandalous* and *conspicuous* were the two key words. The convergence of the two should serve as a warning signal for the committee. If the word "scandal" may be defined as "that which offends established moral conceptions or disgraces all who are associated or involved;"[1] and "conspicuous" as "attracting attention,"[2] then anyone reading the newspapers of the day would be aware of some such convergence.

Headlines ran: "Fortunes Paid: Big Salaries of Presidents of New York Life Insurance Companies;" "The Magnitude of American Railroads: An expose of their influence on government;" "The Equitable Not Alone;" "New York Life Paid $48,000 Cash To Republicans;" "Packers Conspire and Get a Respite;" "Insurance Probe to Go Still Deeper;" "Insurance Companies Relations With Banker;" "Committee Probes Into New York Life: Insurance Company Officers Testify as to Connection With Trusts: T. W. Lawson May Appear: Examination Shows $500 Clerks Signed Notes for $2,335,000 for Loan."[3] All these, and many more like them, headed stories dealing with what state and federal investigators were discovering of the intricacies and influence of big business and high finance. And all of them appeared within the two weeks preceding the Seattle meeting, yet they are but a snippet from the reams of such appearing in those days. There were indeed "scandalous" and "conspicuous" activities of which to be wary.

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[1] Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, Mass.: G. C. Merriam Co., 1965), 4th edition.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Detroit Free Press, September 2, 7, 11, 16, 1905; Detroit News, September 5, 17, 1905; New York Times, September 15, 16, 1905; Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 9, 1905.

These were all revelations about the top-most commercial interests of the day. At the heads of these there existed what Mowry terms a "small group of fabulously wealthy people."[1] They were known for "their private railroad cars, yachts, stables, and monumental mansions," says Mowry.[2] And "in terms of sheer social power perhaps no other comparable group had so much influence as the nine or ten leading industrialists and financiers about the year 1900."[3] (Emphasis supplied.)

The most talked-about mode by which these giant businesses had been formed was the trust. Technically, a trust was a form of business organization quite similar to a modern-day holding company. But in the popular mind of the times the term was associated with any large industrial combination formed from many component companies and which dwarfed its competitors. Mowry states, "In popular thinking, at least, its objectives were simple and clear: to lower wages, to raise prices and profits, and to run its competitors out of business." The people were afraid of this concentration of power, and the Congress had reflected that fear in the passage of the Sherman Act of 1890. And, economist Walter Adams points out, the objective of the

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[1] Mowry, op. cit., I, p. 15.

[2] Ibid., p. 6.

[3] Ibid.

Act "was not to condone good trusts or condemn bad trusts, but to forbid all trusts."[1] But, according to Josephson, by 1890 approximately 100 such associations already existed in product areas like whiskey, sugar, tobacco, cattle, feed, wire nails, beef, bicycles, electric appliances, and, of course, oil.[2] Mowry says that by 1900 the census showed that there were 73 industrial combinations with a capital of more than $10 million each, "many of which controlled 50 per cent or more of the production in their respective fields."[3] That the thrust toward combination was a powerful one is shown by the fact that only 20 of these 73 had been organized as of 1898, 8 years after the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.[4] It was one thing to pass a law, but obviously, in this case at least, something else again to enforce it. As Josephson states, the passage of the act caused would-be trust formers no more than "momentary consternation."[5]

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[1] Walter Adams, "Public Policy in a Free Enterprise Economy," in Walter Adams, ed., The Structure of American Industry (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961), p. 533.

[2] Josephson, op. cit., p. 381. Harold Underwood Faulkner states, "By 1904 it was difficult to discern any primary product which did not bear the label of a great corporation," in The Quest for Social Justice, 1898-1914 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), p. 132.

[3] Mowry, op. cit., p. 7.

[4] Ibid., p. 131.

[5] Ibid.

The government, expecially the executive branch, was by no means idle in the matter. President Roosevelt had, from the beginning of his administration, made it a point to go after the trusts. According to Mowry, the biggest victory Roosevelt had achieved was the dissolution of The Northern Securities Company, a giant holding company for three large northwestern railroads, assembled by J. P. Morgan and Company, the Rockefeller interests, James J. Hill, and E. H. Harriman, "the very Sanhedrin of the nation's railroad and financial oligarchs."[1] According to the U. S. Attorney General, 30% of the company's capital stock of $400 million was "pure water," a sum representing both an "unwarranted profit" to its organizers and an index to its expected need to overcharge the public.[2] The administration did not stop with this one company by any means; several others felt its scourge, some not for the first time. Among these was the Standard Oil Company which by 1907 would have nearly one thousand legal indictments against it in as many cities across the land.[3]

It is important to note that there were fundamental economic reasons for moving against certain practices common to the trusts in that day. Later, in 1914, at the passage of the Federal Trade Commission Act, several of these came out. One of them was price discrimination. The terms, and one of those mentioned in a congressional committee's attempt to define and illustrate this practice, are significant for the study at hand. They said:

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

> In the past it has been a most common practice of great and powerful combinations engaged in commerce--notably the Standard Oil Co., . . . --to lower prices of their commodities, oftentimes below the cost of production in certain communities and sections where they had competition, with the intent to destroy and make unprofitable the business of their competitors, and with the ultimate purpose in view of thereby acquiring a monopoly in the particular locality or section in which the discriminating price is made.
>
> Every concern that engages in this evil practice must of necessity recoup its losses in the particular communities or sections where their commodities are sold below cost or without a fair profit by raising the price of this same class of commodities above their fair market value in other sections or communities.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

It was the quality of evil in all this over which Gladden had continually strained in his protest. Certainly he was not opposed to a man's receiving a comparatively large amount of money in return for his special skills. As early as 1892 he said to his congregation in Columbus that to his way of thinking a man of "quick and clear perception," of "sagacity," might be worth $20,000.00 a year to a business enterprise. Good managers were always short in supply; they should be paid what they were worth on the market.[2] And in 1904 he told them that not all millionaires were "predaceous,"[3] a statement he echoed in his Young's

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[1] Quoted by Adams, op. cit., p. 535.

[2] Gladden, n. t., Sermon, January 24, 1892, Gladden Papers.

[3] Gladden, "My Neighbor the Millionaire," Congregationalist, XC (April 1, 1905), p. 429; noted "A Sermon Preached at the First Church, Columbus, O., last November," Ibid., p. 429, reported in the Ohio State Journal, November 14, 1904.

Hotel speech, saying, "It is not true that all rich men are robbers."[1] In his 1904 sermon he counseled that the "possession of large wealth is not necessarily a sign of moral delinquency."[2] He went on, "There is many a millionaire who has nearly all his capital actively employed in some productive industry, by means of which he gives employment and livelihood to many other people." He concluded on this particular point:

> Rich men are simply human beings, and the possession of riches does not necessarily make their minds inaccessible to humane considerations. They are just as much entitled to our charitable judgment as poor men are. They are our neighbors.[3]

However, he pointed out in his "Tainted Money" article, when one takes a close look at the operations of some of the more notorious leaders of combinations, another side of human nature is revealed. He said:

> In the cool brutality with which properties are wrecked, securities destroyed, and people by the hundreds robbed of their little all to build up the fortunes of the multimillionaires, we have an appalling revelation of the kind of monster that a human being may become.[4]

That aspect of human nature was behind the making of most of the extremely wealthy. In a 1903 sermon he summarized:

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[1] Gladden, "Dr. Gladden Makes Reply."

[2] *Ibid*.

[3] Gladden, "My Neighbor the Millionaire." Of interest in passing is the fact that Gladden and Hartman, the head of Peruna, lived within a few doors of one another on the same street in Columbus.

[4] Gladden, "Tainted Money," p. 887.

> It is not by legitimate business operations that most of these gigantic fortunes have been made; it is by business operations plus rascally rebates from the railroads, or subsidies from the government, or the exploitation of so-called securities or some such method of essential dishonesty that most of our money kings have climbed to power. It is by the violation of the clearest principle of justice; by what, in the sight of God, amounts to fraud or extortion that the fabulous fortunes have been raised.[1]

It has been estimated that in the year 1893, twelve years before the incident under study, Rockefeller possessed a fortune of $200 million.[2] Such fortunes and the power they represented were, to Gladden's way of thinking, threatening to the way of life which he held dear for Americans. He put it in words in his address at Young's Hotel:

> This nation is facing a crisis in its history. Our easy-going optimism may ignore it, but the battle is on between corporate greed and industrial freedom. Enormous aggregations of capital are seeking to gather up and control, not only the railways and the mines and the food supply of the people, but the Government itself. This power already lays a heavy hand on industry and enterprise. Thoughtful men confront the future with sober faces. If we want to save our nation from the vast oppressions that are sure to provoke reactions, we must gird ourselves for a determined struggle.
>
> . . . .
>
> Now, it is undeniable that among the powers and influences which have led the nation into the peril which now threaten us--the peril arising from aggregations of selfish wealth--none has been more potent or more ruthless than that which it is now proposed to take into partnership in our missionary work.[3]

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[1] Gladden, "Some Common Ways of Cheating and Stealing."

[2] Josephson, op. cit., p. 395.

[3] Gladden, "Dr. Gladden Makes Reply."

At the heart of Gladden's complaint was the conviction shared by Tarbell and Lloyd, and the other so-called muckrakers, that the monopolistic practices employed to erect and expand these huge empires were a threat to a way of doing business that was most compatible with the best human development. "Industrial freedom," "industry and enterprise," and with them the spirit of individualism in business were gradually being smothered. Gladden saw it, and, forty years later, Judge Hand was to clarify the point in reference to the Sherman Act in one of his decisions:

> Many people believe that possession of unchallenged economic power *deadens initiative*, *discourages thrift* and *depresses energy*; that *immunity from competition is a narcotic*, and *rivalry is a stimulant, to industrial progress*; that the spur of constant stress is necessary to counteract an inevitable disposition to let well enough alone. Such people believe that competitors, versed in the craft as no consumer can be, will be quick to detect opportunities for saving and new shifts in production, and be eager to profit by them . . . True, it might have been thought adequate to condemn only those monopolies which could not show that they had exercised the highest possible ingenuity, had adopted every possible economy, had anticipated every conceivable improvement, stimulated every possible demand . . . Be that as it may, that was not the way that Congress chose; it did not condone "good" trusts and condemn "bad" ones; it forbade all. Moreover, in so doing *it was not necessarily actuated by economic motives alone*. It is possible, because of its indirect social or moral effect, to prefer a system of small producers, *each dependent for his success upon his own skill and character*, to one in which the great mass of those engaged must accept the direction of a few. These considerations, which we have suggested only as possible purposes of the Act, *we think the decisions prove to have been in fact*

its purposes.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

Did Gladden's businessmen audience see it the same way? We do not know. But whether at this point in his speech they did, or not, the speaker was not going to leave the point to chance but would return to other aspects of it in order to complete his argument.

M. Gladden's personal attitude toward the trusts; his contemporaries' attempts to alert popular opinion to the trusts; specific charges against the trusts and their practices:

> *These colossal gains have, in all cases, been made by practices which are glaringly unjust and iniquitous. By obtaining control of the public highways and levying tribute on the traffic of competitors, and taxing the necessaries of life for the millions; by corruptly controlling legislatures and city councils and thus obtaining franchises and contracts, by which they are able to extort from the people exorbitant compensation for public service rendered; by enormous inflations of capital, and the dishonest manipulation of the stock and grain markets and by the exploitation of trust funds for private gain, these great accumulations have been made. Most of these practices are flagrantly illegal, those which are not covered by explicit legislation are none the less unjust and oppressive.*
>
> *The true character of these giant combinations, these grasping monopolies, is now pretty well understood by the people at large. It is evident that they must be sharply restrained or our liberties will soon disappear. It is evident that they have narrowed the bounds of individual initiative--that is industrial freedom, and have shut the gates of opportunity upon millions; that they have greatly intensified the strife of classes; above all that they have done more than all other causes put together to corrupt and debauch our governments, municipal, state and national. The vital relation between big businesses and political corruption has been brought to light most vividly within the past six months. And the deadly damage that has been done to the nation in dulling the sense of business honor and intensifying the passion of avarice no*

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[1] Quoted in Adams, op. cit., p. 533.

> *statistics can ever show.*
>
> *Against these merciless and portentous powers the conscience of the nation is now pretty well aroused; our President has spoken again and again, with clearness and emphasis; our ex-President, Mr. Cleveland, has borne strong testimony; the government of the nation and the governments of some of the states are exerting their powers to restrain and punish their transgressors; quite a number of them are now under indictment for crime and many others are dreading it; it begins to be pretty plain that this is not a windmill that we are attacking but a strong and dangerous foe to the national life.*

Gladden was not opposed to combinations, per se. He recognized that they were inevitable, and that possibly there were some advantages which might accrue to the public by means of their formation. However, by their very nature they were a threat to the social-economic order. And the trend he foresaw in his 1889 lecture on trusts was dire indeed. He said:

> If things go on as they have been going for the past ten years, we shall soon find ourselves under the power of a tyranny whose little finger will be thicker than the loins of all the privileged classes of England.[1]

Gladden did not intend to eliminate the institution of combination. If anything, there was a quality about them that was altogether right. It just seemed natural, he thought, that there should be combinations of some kind.

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[1] Gladden, "Trusts." [This may have been a revision of his Chautauqua lecture which inspired Gunton's delegation in behalf of Standard Oil, for Gladden refers to him by name and alludes to "my distinguished antagonist," one of several "subsidized persons" who "eulogize" the oil firm. Gladden apparently used the manuscript upon many different occasions, for the words "morning," "afternoon," and "evening," have been written and crossed out several times in his salutory sentence.]

He even stated that the men whose fortunes were embarked in great industries should be permitted to consult together on production and prices. At any rate, he stated, "combination is in the field, and it has come to stay."

Even before the passage of the Sherman Act, Gladden saw the futility of attempting to outlaw the trusts. He said that "legislation prohibiting it would be a bull against this comet." What can be done? He counseled, "The rational thing to do, the only thing to do, is to recognize it, and regulate it by law." Yes, this might be construed to mean that a way was being paved for socialism, but, if it came, it would not be because labor demanded it; rather, it would be because capitalists had made it necessary. Even more important, though, was that public opinion should be informed and ignited. He called for "a great awakening of the public conscience, a great revival of patriotism in the hearts of the people."[1] There were evil tendencies in the combinations, laws needed to be passed to control them, but more importantly, the people needed to be informed and motivated to make their influence felt.

Sixteen years after this lecture was first delivered, Gladden found himself before his Seattle audience contending that the dangers inherent in the bad combinations had come to be "pretty well understood by the people at large." The bad combinations, the "grasping" ones, represented "merciless and portentous powers;" they were a "strong and dangerous foe."

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[1] Ibid.

How had the people come to know these things? Gladden, of course, had not been idle all those years; he had tried to inform his own congregation and many others through his own speaking and writing. Newspaper accounts of corruption on the part of big business and its leaders had also carried the message. But, according to Dulles, the leading means by which the public was sensitized to the problems stemming from the giant corporations was the writings of those referred to after the year 1906 as "muckrakers," authors who took it upon themselves to look behind the scenes, as it were, and report what they saw.[1] Dulles says that the "mass circulation" magazines of the day, McClure's, Cosmopolitan, Everybody's, and others which have already been mentioned in this paper, were the leading journals for the publication of such literature. Writes Dulles:

> Millions of readers who had been only vaguely aware of the implications of the tie-up between big business and politics, the corruption so widespread in municipal government, and other abuses in our national life, became thoroughly aroused.[2]

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[1] Dulles, op. cit., p. 184. President Theodore Roosevelt is credited with inspiring the term "muckraker" in a speech he gave on April 14, 1906; see Robert T. Oliver, History of Public Speaking in America (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1965), p. 496.

[2] Dulles, loc. cit.

Mowry says the impact of this literature was "enormous," and, he goes on, "Before this journalistic crusade had run its course, few literate Americans could have any real feelings of complacency about their civilization."[1]

One of the subjects discussed frequently by the muckrakers was the trusts; and, says Mowry:

> Since the publication of Henry Demarest Lloyd's *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, the Standard Oil Company had come to represent to the American public the personification of the word *trust*.[2]

Lloyd's book, published in 1894, was based upon a series of articles which appeared in 1881 in a leading magazine, and Mowry says that when the volume appeared it was read by "thousands."[3] The point of the book was to show especially how the railroads, so vital to the public, had fallen under the control of the monopolists. However, it also touched upon the influence the giant combinations had upon state and federal governments. Although it was not the only one discussed, the Standard Oil combination was by far the largest and most powerful (and most innovative!), and so it became Lloyd's primary target.

A long quote from Lloyd reveals both the thrust and passion of his argument:

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[1] Mowry, *op. cit*., p. 65.

[2] A convenient version of this work in a slightly condensed form is Henry Demarest Lloyd, *Wealth Against Commonwealth* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1963), edited and annotated by Thomas C. Cochran.

[3] Mowry, *op. cit*., p. 31.

> If our civilization is destroyed, as Macauley predicted, it will not be by his barbarians from below. Our barbarians come from above. Our great money-makers have sprung in one generation into seats of power kings do not know. The forces and the wealth are new and have been the opportunity of new men. Without restraints of culture, experience, the pride, or even the inherited caution of class or rank, these men, intoxicated, think they are the wave instead of the float, and that they have created the business which has created them. To them science is but a never-ending repertoire of investments stored up by nature for the syndicates, government but a fountain of franchises, the nations but customers in squads, and a million the unit of a new arithmetic of wealth written for them. They claim a power without control, exercised through forms which make it secret, anonymous, and perpetual. The possibilities of its gratification have been widening before them without interruption since they began, and even at a thousand millions they feel no satiation and will see no place to stop. They are gluttons of luxury and power, rough, unsocialized, believing that mankind must be kept terrorized. Powers of pity die out of them, because they work through agents and die in their agents, because what they do is not for themselves.[1]

Professor Thomas C. Cochran, a Lloyd scholar, says that the book is a "substantially accurate picture of the social dangers in the prevailing business philosophy that a good end justified any means."[2] Whether the book was substantially accurate in the factual material which it presumed to report has never been proven. Accurate or not, however, the book had its impact. It was read far and wide, and those associated with the Standard did not miss it. When Gladden's "Tainted Money" article appeared, a close advisor of

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[1] Lloyd, op. cit., p. 168.

[2] Ibid., p. 3.

Rockefeller's commented that the writer had "evidently been reading the Lloyd book."[1] Gladden had indeed read it. He wrote in a private letter:

> I wonder that Lloyd's book has not caused more excitement; I hope and trust it is doing its work silently; but it surprises me that it does not cause an insurrection. We must wait. The day of judgment will come.[2]

Gladden and Lloyd became fast friends, corresponding regularly, and visiting in one another's homes. And, Dorn reports, when Lloyd died in 1903, Gladden wrote to his widow: " . . . he has done a great work--a work that will endure. The New America will be different from what it would have been . . . if he had not lived."[3]

Another writer of prominence whose greatest achievement lay in revealing the malpractices of great corporations was Ida M. Tarbell. Her book, The History of the Standard Oil Company, also first appeared as a series in a major magazine, before it was published in two volumes in 1904.[4] Her's was a monumental work of research which might have profited somewhat from a heavy-handed editor, but which, nevertheless, achieved wide readership. It was thorough, meticulously documented reporting; the dedicated work of a daughter of the Pennsylvania oil fields, who as a child had prayed to God to keep her from marriage.[1] Dulles, commenting on Tarbell's work, says: "Her presentation was precise, factual, and carefully documented, and . . . there was no attempt to single out villains. Miss Tarbell let the record speak for itself."[2] Even Nevins, whose work on Rockefeller and the Standard has been criticized as excessively favorable to them,[3] writes that Tarbell's work was "thoroughly documented," and perhaps even too mild at points.[4] On the basis of correspondence received by Gladden, the writer judges that Miss Tarbell was not personally known to him (Gladden) prior to the Seattle speech; however, her work was cited specifically in at least one sermon before his Columbus congregation, and both Lloyd's and her work were cited as sources in the Young's Hotel address.[5]

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[1] Nevins, op. cit., II, p. 284.

[2] Quoted in Caroline Lloyd, Henry Demarest Lloyd, 1847-1903, A Biography (New York and London: G. P. Putnam, 1912), I, p. 200.

[3] Dorn, op. cit., p. 313.

[4] Ida M. Tarbell, The History of the Standard Oil Company (New York: McClure-Phillips, 1904), 2 volumes.

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[1] Mowry, op. cit., p. 35.

[2] Dulles, op. cit., p. 183.

[3] Norman Cousins says of Nevins' work on Rockefeller: "If it had appeared a quarter of a century ago it might have been called 'inspired whitewashing' at worst or as 'warmly sympathetic' at best;" Quoted in Jules Ables, The Rockefeller Billions: the Story of the World's Most Stupendous Fortune (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965),p. xiii.

[4] Nevins, op. cit., II, p. 524.

[5] Herbert W. Gleason to Gladden, May 10, 1905, carrying the line, "I hope you will have an opportunity soon to meet Miss Tarbell." Gladden, "Some Common Ways of Cheating and Stealing;" Gladden, "Dr. Gladden Makes Reply."

The factual accuracy of these two writers is not part of this study's inquiry. Neither is their qualitative judgment questioned here. We have cited some commentators to the effect that they were substantial on both counts. However, it is clear that they received the attention of a considerable portion of the reading public, and, what is more important for this study, they were a primary source for Gladden in his arguments against the giant corporations, particularly the Standard. He believed in them and in their work, and said as much in his Young's Hotel speech:

> Much of the popular knowledge of the operations of this company [the Standard] comes from two sources: Mr. Henry D. Lloyd's "Wealth vs. Commonwealth," and Miss Ida M. Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company," and those who argue that nothing has been proved against the Standard Oil Company are wont to disparage these books as reckless in their method or partisan in their temper.
>
> Most of those who thus judge them have never read them. Those who have read them know that all their important statements are based on official documents, on testimony presented before legislative and congressional committees, on copies of contracts and other business instruments, and on the records of courts. In all these cases the authorities are cited. Every man who can read the English language can verify them. About one-third of each of Miss Tarbell's solid volumes is made up of these books as the careless or slanderous assaults of ignorant persons is less than just. Neither of these writers is capable of such injustice. Each of them wrote with a deep sense of social responsibility.
>
> Mr. Lloyd's volume exhibits more feeling; it is the testimony of a knightly soul aflame against oppression. But none who knew this man, who spent his life in the service of humanity and laid it down as a sacrifice in a great battle against wrong, needs to be told that in all his passionate devotion to the

> highest ideals, he could never have wantonly slandered any man. Miss Tarbell's style is more restrained. From beginning to end her book gives the impression of being a dispassionate exposition. The evidence is fairly weighed; the investigation is judicial.[1]

That the statements and charges made by these two writers were true Gladden reasoned on the basis of the Standard's legal silence in the face of them. Said Gladden:

> The conclusive proof that these revelations are true is found in the fact that no action has been brought against either of these writers. The statements made by both of them respecting the methods and operations of this company are damning. It is incredible that these men would have rested under such charges if the charges could have been disproved. Mr. Lloyd was not an irresponsible person; he was a man of wealth and position. Miss Tarbell spread her indictment before the public in the pages of a great magazine, whose publishers could have been severely punished if what she stated was libellous. There was money enough to prosecute slanderers, and shrewd lawyers enough to have exposed their malice, and courts not at all loath to do them justice. The fact that not a finger has been raised to punish them is evidence that their indictment cannot be overthrown.[2]

Gladden was utterly convinced on this basis of the trustworthiness of the witness that Lloyd and Tarbell bore, and although he also appealed to court records and various government reports in his arguments, they were usually only used to enlarge upon points drawn from the writings of these two.

As to the bill of particulars Gladden brought against the combinations in his Seattle speech, many of the points he had raised before in public address.

The phrase, "obtaining control of the public highways and levying tribute on the traffic of competitors," referred to the Standard's much-discussed practice of demanding that the railroads pay back a portion of the charges made for shipping that company's oil, (rebates) *and also paying the Standard a portion of what was charged all other oil shippers*, (drawbacks). In terms of the advantage this gave the Standard, and the duress it placed its competitors under, even Nevins has to confess that, "of all devices for the extinction of competition, this was the cruellest and most deadly yet conceived by any group of American industrialists."[1] As to the status of rebate and drawback practices in the year 1905, the reports are mixed. Charles A. Prouty, a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, wrote in April of that year that the Standard did not do these things any more. They had such control of the railroads by then that the same thing could be accomplished through the setting of rates.[2] But, according to historian Mowry, at the time Gladden spoke, the practice of rebating in many industries "went merrily on."[3]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid.

As early as 1889, Gladden had spoken on the evils of the practice in his lecture on trusts.[4] He had cited it as a way of stealing in a sermon preached February 14, 1897. He had taken it up again in a sermon preached November 29, 1903, under the title, "Some Common Ways of Cheating and Stealing." In his sermon, "The Religion of a Gentleman," he had attributed the Rockefeller fortune's accumulation to "unlawful and outrageous manipulations of railway rates." And in his address at Young's Hotel he flatly declared that the Company could not have existed "but for this illegal and outrageous use of the railroads in the extermination of competitors."

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[1] Nevins, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 621-622.

[2] Gladden, "Mr. Rockefeller and the American Board," *Outlook*, LXXIX (April 22, 1905), p. 984.

[3] Mowry, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

[4] Gladden, "Trusts."

Two of his Seattle charges, "taxing the necessaries of life," and "controlling legislatures and city councils," were touched upon in an Independence Day address Gladden gave in 1903. He asked his congregation if it was not a kind of tax upon the public, and a double one at that, when monopolies were formed that resulted in prices being higher than they needed to be, and the railroads, which Gladden thought of as public property, were manipulated to serve big money purposes. Furthermore, this was taxation without representation, and his Columbus listeners did not need to look any farther than across the street to discover this kind of taxation. He said:

> One of the chief counts against George III was that he taxed the colonies without permitting them to be represented in the levying or the distribution of the taxes: "taxation without representation," they said, "is tyranny." Are not we paying a good many taxes levied by bodies in which we are not, in any true sense of the word, represented? Not to go too far from home for our illustrations, is it true

> that the General Assembly of Ohio has, of late, been wholly composed of representatives of the people? Are not a considerable number of these so-called representatives men whose nomination and election are due solely to the fact that they possess the favor of one or two men? Are not nominations dictated and elections carried, in all parts of the state,--not only of legislators, but of executive officers, by the overpowering authority of men who do not represent the people--who represent, instead their own selfish schemes and ambitions?[1]

The "enormous inflations of capital" referred to the practice of "watering" stock which Gladden had discussed at considerable length in his lecture on trusts in 1889, and again on at least one occasion before his Columbus congregation.[2]

These practices, together with "dishonest manipulation of the stock and grain markets," "exploitation of trust funds for private gains," and other "flagrantly illegal" practices formed a core of hard economic and legal injustices about which Gladden shaped a major part of his argument. However, there were other charges which Gladden brought, charges which had more to do with the spirit than with the substance.

One of these was that the large combinations "narrowed the bounds of individual initiative--that is industrial freedom." This must have been a most difficult point for Gladden to make at any time. He saw that combination did tend to eliminate "cut-throat competition,"

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[1] Gladden, n. t., Sermon, July 5, 1903. Gladden Papers.

[2] Gladden, "Some Common Ways of Cheating and Stealing."

"destructive competition," the kind that consumed so much of its energy and ability in finding a way to do the competition in that it never found opportunity to do the customer good. He went on:

> Unrestricted competition is not any longer to be tolerated, because unrestricted competition means competition with rascals and swindlers who do not pretend to pay their debts, who fail every year or two, who force their employees to work at starvation prices, and who by such methods undersell honest and humane competition and ruin the trade.[1]

The danger implicit in replacing this form of business organization with another, however, was clear. The difficulty, he said, is that "the same power which suppresses destructive competition can be used to defy wholesome competition; that the same power which keeps prices stable may be used to make prices oppressive."[2] We have already seen that there was opinion abroad in Gladden's day which opposed trusts on the basis of their threat to small operators. Gladden was also concerned about what the proliferation of large combinations portended for the human spirit, especially that of young men looking for a way in which to spend their lives. The old days of striking out on one's own were nearly gone. The "irresistible tendency to centralization" he saw at work brought into being a new fact of life for them. He put it for his congregation:

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[1] Gladden, "Trusts."

[2] Ibid.

> All this makes it more and more necessary for young men who wish to earn a livelihood by their labor, to find employment in subordinate positions. The great majority of them are compelled to work for other people, and a vast number of them will be in the employ of these great combinations of capital into which such a large proportion of the business of the world is rapidly passing. The great railway, steamship and telegraph and telephone companies; the great electrical corporations; the great gas syndicates; the enormous combinations which control the production of iron and oil and sugar and jewelry and binding twine and beer and many other products, in these a great number of the young men now on the threshold of life will find employment.[1]

How did Gladden feel about this new situation? He declared:

> . . . it is a loss, on the whole, and a pretty serious loss, I have no doubt. It probably reduces, by a considerable amount, the independence and self-reliance and individuality of the whole people; it does not tend to produce a strong race of men.[2]

Gladden did not see all this in a bad light; some "virtues" might come of it. He thought that working in such a subordinate position

> teaches men to cooperate; it forces them to chasten their self-conceit and their obstinacy and to harmonize their thoughts and their efforts with those who are working by their side. If men learn to cooperate under authority, perhaps they may be able by and by to cooperate for their own purpose.
>
> Another set of virtues which are developed in these great enterprises are the fiduciary virtues. The essential quality required in the employees of such concerns is trustworthiness. Everybody is handling other people's money, watching other people's property, caring for other people's interests; everybody is, in some sense, a steward; and as is required in stewards, the scripture says, that a man be found faithful.[3]

It was too bad that the tendency of the time was to "crush out individuality," but everyone would just have to face up to it "like men."[1]

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[1] Gladden, "Choice of Calling and Chance of Success."

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

Another unfortunate outgrowth of the multiplication of combination was that "it intensified the strife of classes," a point which Gladden would discuss tangentially later on in his speech.

The tendency of such combinations to "corrupt and debauch" governmental structures, brought most vividly to light *within the past six months,* was probably a reference to what the press had reported on the conflict between the state of Kansas under its new "anti-machine" governor and the Standard Oil Company over whether or not pipelines should be defined as common carriers and be regulated by a state commission.[2] The Standard had taken the negative and lost.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] See Mowry, op. cit., p. 83. Also, the story of the entire Kansas affair was released almost concurrently with the Seattle meeting in two articles in McClure's by Ida M. Tarbell: "Kansas and the Standard Oil Company, A Narrative of Today--Part I, What the Standard Oil Company did to Kansas," McClure's, XXV (September, 1905), pp. 469-481. "Kansas and the Standard Oil Company--Part II, What Kansas did to the Standard Oil Company," McClure's, XXV (October, 1905), pp. 608-622. A newspaper editorialist wrote on April 2, 1905: "Monopoly is being assailed with a vigor never before known. Missouri has followed Kansas in the effort to drive the Standard Oil Company out of the state and has enacted a maximum freight rate law. Arkansas has ousted the insurance companies suspected of operating in collusion. South Dakota has established a state twine factory, to compete with the trust. Minnesota has taken steps to manufacture her own harvesting and binding machinery. Oklahoma has a new railroad demurrage law. Texas threatens to tax railroads accused of allowing rebates at a tremendously high rate. Wisconsin is making a determined effort to bring the railroads to terms. Even in the Pennsylvania legislature a bill aimed at the Standard Oil Company has received some serious consideration." Ohio State Journal, April 2, 1905.

As for the claim that the monopolies were *dulling the sense of business honor,* that is a charge Gladden had made in another context before. In a sermon preached November 29, 1903, he gave a rather detailed accounting of incidents of cheating and stealing that he had observed, building from a personal experience of having some small personal items stolen during a visit to mountaineer country, to a report of a stock manipulation on the part of the Manhattan Elevated Railway which he had watched at short range. The shocking thing for Gladden was that in both instances society seemed to approve of what was done. The mountaineer's neighbors accepted his thievery as a matter of course. And the stock manipulation had the blessing of a legal decision. But, Gladden told his listeners, "there is no moral difference between the act of the man who steals your horse and the act of the man who fleeces you out of your property by the modern methods of finance." Indeed the second may well be more disturbing than the first because of the enormous complicity assumed. Of the community's response to those involved in the stock manipulation Gladden said:

> I do not suppose that these enterprising gentlemen ever lost any caste in society on account of this transaction. It was all done, of course, under color of law; but it was done by perverting the law; by corruptly using the law; by employing the law as the weapon of spoilation and robbery. I am sorry to say that American consciences appear to be extremely dull and unresponsive in the presence of

> this kind of rascality. I think as I have said, that it is far more culpable, more nefarious, more injurious to society than the practices of the footpad or the counterfeiter; yet the perpetrators of it suffer very little if any social condemnation on account of it.[1]

Why should such a state of affairs be given more than a passing thought? Gladden answered, perhaps prophetically:

> I do not believe that any effectual condemnation and suppression of the crimes of the thief and the burglar and the highwayman can long be possible in any society which treats venial such high handed operations in the world of finance as have been frequent in recent years. Let us not imagine that we shall continue to be able to pet and promote our big thieves and robbers and punish our little ones. If our laws make such things possible our laws will not long command the respect of our citizens.[2]

For Gladden, the dulling power of the worship of money was to be seen everywhere. In another 1903 sermon he told his congregation:

> Mammon stands over us all as our evil genius, demanding of us subjection to its behests and the stifling of our highest convictions; it bids the journalist write what the counting room dictates though he stultify his intellect and his conscience; it warns the preacher not to disturb the people in his pews by too plain speaking, lest the revenues of the church be impaired and his salary reduced; it threatens the public official with the loss of his position if he does not wink at the inefficiency and rascality which have entrenched themselves in the public places; it makes the citizen too cowardly to resist public wrong for fear he may lose clients or customers; it stifles in the breast of the woman of society the scruples which arise when she knows that the splendor and the beauty with which she is surrounded in her home are the price of dishonest politics or vast legalized injustices and extortions;

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[1] Gladden, "Some Common Ways of Cheating and Stealing."

[2] *Ibid*.

> it cripples and paralyzes the virtue of many of us; it ties the tongues of men who ought to speak, and unnerves the ones of men who ought to strike, and lowers the standards of men who ought to stand and fight for things honorable and true.[1]

The giant combinations with their questionable modes of operation flaunted before a public mesmerized by wealth, no matter how it was achieved, had lowered the moral climate of the whole society.

The last point in this passage of indictment, that the monopolies were intensifying the *passion of avarice*, was, of course, a corollary of the one which preceded it. As Gladden said to his congregation, it seemed that the "majority" of the people were living by "the gambler's creed," one which declared any day a successful day in which a "considerable sum has been added to my accumulation, and in which every person who had dealt with me was worse off than he was in the morning." He said that as a gambler, "'Something for nothing' is the maxim of my occupation."[2] That was the way giant monopolies taught people to live.

Was the conscience of the nation *pretty well aroused* by the practices of the giant corporations? Gladden thought it was. He said in his speech at the Young's Hotel, "The American people know all these things and many more like unto them" And again he said that "the great masses of the American people" had a "very clear" opinion of what was going on.[1] This, perhaps unfortunately for his case, was as strongly as it could be put. Reporting the state of arousal of public opinion was no more precise then than it is now.

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[1] Gladden, n. t., Sermon, July 5, 1905, Gladden Papers.

[2] Gladden, "Thou Shalt Not Steal," Sermon, February 14, 1897.

President Cleveland, in his second inaugural address, March 4, 1893, had most clearly articulated his position on the matter at hand. He had, on that occasion, said:

> The existence of immense aggregations of kindred enterprises and combinations of business interests formed for the purpose of limiting production and fixing prices is inconsistent with the fair field which ought to be open to every independent activity. Legitimate strife in business should not be superseded by an enforced concession to the demands of combinations that have the power to destroy, nor should the people to be served lose the benefit of cheapness which usually results from wholesome competition. These aggregations and combinations frequently constitute conspiracies against the interests of the people, and in all their phases they are unnatural and opposed to our American sense of fairness. To the extent that they can be reached and restrained by Federal power the General Government should relieve our citizens from their interference and exactions.[2]

Cleveland's statement is a strong one, but his record of performance is not up to it.

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[1] Gladden, "Dr. Gladden Makes Reply."

[2] Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965), pp. 165-166.

On the other hand, Theodore Roosevelt's statement at his inauguration in March, 1905, is a mild one. He said:

> The conditions which have told for our marvelous material well-being, which have developed to a very high degree our energy, self-reliance, and individual initiative, have also brought the care and anxiety inseparable from the accumulation of great wealth in industrial centers.[1]

However, his record which earned him the nickname "trust buster" is much better than his words.[2] He had made his position clear in his first message to Congress, shortly after succeeding to the Presidency in 1902. In all his speeches touching upon the subject he declared that his goal would be to control large industry. He felt, as did Gladden, that the growth of corporations was inevitable; it could no more be turned back by legislation than could the Mississippi spring floods. But they could be controlled with levees.[3] In fact, at the time of the Seattle meeting, Roosevelt was pressing his investigations and charges on several counts with the trusts.

Although Gladden's catalog of grievances was long, there was no single item in it that could be identified as utterly new. He had articulated most of them elsewhere, either in the pulpit or in print. The rest had been reviewed by others. Although the familiarity of his charges would not necessarily have rendered them contemptible, their longevity may have indicated that responsible persons had long since made a truce with them. At any rate, it might be disturbing for some at this range to note that Gladden cited the same case, text, judge (Baxter), and decision against rebates in his address at Young's Hotel that he had used in his lecture on trusts 16 years before. And to cite Lloyd as a witness was to draw upon testimony that had been first offered 21 years earlier. The argument may have had cogency at one time, but by 1905 it may have lacked contemporaneity.

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[1] _Ibid._, p. 184.

[2] For a discussion of Roosevelt's record in this area, and one of Cleveland's in contrast, see Mowry, _op. cit._, pp. 83, 121, 123, 131-134.

[3] _Ibid._, p. 132.

N. The popular attitude toward John D. Rockefeller; the record of his personal character; Gladden's personal attitude toward Rockefeller:

> *What, now, should be the attitude of the church toward men who stand in this relation to the commonwealth? I think that the church cannot afford to cultivate their friendship or seek their cooperation in its work. They may be courteous and cultivated gentlemen, estimable husbands and fathers and constant attendants upon church and prayer meeting, but if their business methods involve a peril to public morality and threaten the public welfare the church must not invite their cooperation in its work.*

The Seattle Sunday Times of September 17, 1905, displayed an arresting page-one make-up. On the upper center of the page was a large, detailed line drawing of a man's face. The following description could have gone with the face:

> He seemed distinguished in person; with . . ., his long well-shaped head, his even jaw. His long, fine nose, his small birdlike eyes set wide apart, with the narrowed lids drooping a little, and the innumerable tiny wrinkles, made up a remarkable physiognomy. But his mouth was a slit, like a shark's.[1]

Across the top of the page, in large banner type were the words, "ROCKEFELLER ILL AND PENNILESS." At least that is how it must have appeared to read from several feet away, or at a cursory glance. But closer inspection revealed several words in much smaller type so placed near the banner type that one could see that they should be included and the full headline be read: "ROCKEFELLER gives thousands to convert heathen, but fails to hear appeal of old servant now ILL AND PENNILESS." Then followed a long story about an old former servant of the Rockefeller family who claimed that she had been promised support in her retirement years by the oil magnate, but that now he refused to make the alleged promise good.[2] Neither the headline in either of its forms, nor the line drawing (nor the words this writer has used with it taken from Josephson's Robber Barons), nor the story which appeared that day on page one was in any way flattering to the famous man. But they all illustrate the fact that the man was indeed famous; his name was a headline maker; his countenance was known; and even the slightest revelations about him were worthy of page-one attention.

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[1] Josephson, op. cit., p. 275.

[2] Seattle Sunday Times, September 27, 1905.

Gladden's relationship to the great man was dichotomous. On the one hand, it was clearly out of character for Gladden to take anyone to task on a personal basis, except in extreme circumstances. He was no respector of persons; in the Biblical sense, he feared no one. But he did not make it a practice to vilify another human being. Human personality was too sacred, and, not incidentally, Gladden thought of himself as a gentleman. As a frequent worshipper in Gladden's church put it for this writer, Gladden never set out to "fry" anyone, a characteristic which made a distinct impression upon those who knew him.[1] Thus it is not surprising to find Nevins saying that it was to Gladden's credit that he tried to lift the debate to an impersonal plane.[2] And a newspaper editorial writer of the day was certain that Gladden "has no personal feeling toward the head of the Standard Oil Company."[3]

What could be said about Rockefeller personally? He never flaunted his wealth publicly. In a day when ostentation was the order of the day among the very wealthy, the latest chronicler of their exploits says that Rockefeller was a glorious exception to the profligate living patterns attributed to so many of the wealthiest.[4] Even the unfriendly Josephson admits that Rockefeller neither drank, smoked, nor gambled, and, to top it off, regularly taught a Sunday School class during his early days in Cleveland.[1] In fact, says Dulles, Rockefeller's Sunday School teaching was perhaps his favorite activity outside of his business concerns.[2] One of Rockefeller's brief appearances before his own Sunday School class was reported on page one of the New York Times during the controversy. The oil executive told the class members not to try to be witty and to refrain from strong drink. To illustrate the danger of the latter, he told the story of a Harvard graduate who had been tempted by a clergyman.[3] One who played piano for Rockefeller's New York Sunday School told the writer that some of his fondest memories were of Sunday afternoon class picnics at the oil king's estate. He reported "warm feelings" toward Rockefeller who was doing "so much good" in the city.[4] And from his earliest days, says Dulles, Rockefeller practiced the philanthropy that would become so closely associated with his name."[5] He always seemed to keep his equanimity, and, during the heat of the controversy over the gift to the American Board, is reported to have joked with visiting reporters that he had given a fictitious dinner party with his guests including "Reverend Washington Gladden, Miss Ida Tarbell, and Thomas W. Lawson."[1] Thus, on the basis of such reports as these, there appeared to be very little upon which one could have founded a personal attack against the oil magnate.

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[1] Interview with Professor Henry Spencer, January 27, 1967.

[2] Nevins, op. cit., II, p. 542.

[3] Ohio State Journal, April 9, 1905.

[4] Lucius Beebe, The Big Spenders, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1966), pp. 379-380.

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[1] Josephson, op. cit., p. 318.

[2] Dulles, op. cit., p. 58.

[3] New York Times, September 18, 1905.

[4] Interview with Professor Henry Spencer, January 27, 1967.

[5] Dulles, op. cit., p. 58.

Yet his name was often taken in a way far from complimentary. And, over the years, the public seemed to develop a genuine loathing for the man. Nevins has to admit that "the hatred of Rockefeller personally, far from showing any abatement, became grimmer and fiercer, and was often clamorous in intensity."[2] Some, no doubt, disliked him because of his wealth; with a taint of jealousy they could not abide the man's inordinate financial success. Others were probably convinced by much of what the muckrakers wrote about him and the interests he headed that he was indeed a menace to society. Even with these latter charges against him, however, there were those who came to his defense. A contemporary has reported that he felt that Rockefeller was only doing the ordinary thing in his business practices.[3] And Dulles, while conceding that

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[1] Nevins, op. cit., II, p. 460. (Lawson was the author of a book attacking Rockefeller and his company.)

[2] Ibid.

[3] Interview with Professor Henry Spencer, January 27, 1967.

Rockefeller's business methods included some "sharp practices," nevertheless contends that he was only doing what was being done in the development of other trusts and business combines in a score of industries.[1]

At the height of the controversy under study, at least two well-known clergymen extended him comfort of different sorts. Dr. MacArthur, pastor of Rockefeller's New York church, stated in a sermon that the Standard's head was more sinned against than sinning. The charges made against the man were "arrant hypocrisy." He declared that "the pendulum is swinging toward favorable judgment of Mr. Rockefeller largely because of the criticism."[2] Lyman Abbott's Outlook lamented with Rockefeller over the fact that he was so often spoken against, and that his privacy was at such a premium. His only real fault was that he had been so tremendously successful at doing what so many others had tried to do with far less success, if not failure, to show for it.[3]

Gladden might possibly have agreed with all these things about the private Rockefeller. But that was not the point. He said:

> Of course it is understood that it is John D. Rockefeller as a factor in the economic, political,

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[1] Dulles, op. cit., p. 59.

[2] Detroit News, September 4, 1905.

[3] "Mr. Rockefeller's Sermon," Outlook, LXXIX (October 7, 1905), pp. 300-301.

> and social life of this people with whom we are dealing. We have nothing to do with his relation to other worlds. What uses the Almighty may have for him we do not undertake to determine. Our question is simply what the American people ought to think about him and to do with him.
>
> Mr. Rockefeller is not simply a private person. He is the representative of a great system which has become a public enemy.[1]

That was the only point to be made about Rockefeller. His being a millionaire was no particular problem for Gladden. He had gone so far as to counsel his congregation on what their attitude should be toward a millionaire. In a sermon he said to them:

> I must not envy him. Love envieth not. I must not hate him simply because he is more successful or more fortunate than I am, because he has what I have not. Envy, there is some authority for saying, is the meanest spawn of hell. If I catch myself feeling unkindly toward a man because he is prosperous and I not, let me smite myself in the forehead for a contemptible caitiff and never do it again.[2]

This was Gladden's feeling about the great millionaire and he apparently wanted to make it clear again. He did not hold his millions against him. He did not particularly count his personal abstinence from any display of evil for him. But the business methods he practiced were "a peril to public morality," and they "threaten the public welfare." Therefore, the churches could not invite him into partnership.[1]

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[1] Gladden, "Mr. Rockefeller and the American Board," Outlook, LXXIX (April 22, 1905), p. 984.

[2] Gladden, "My Neighbor the Millionaire," Congregationalist, XC (April 1, 1905), p. 430. Annotated as a sermon preached in November, 1904 in Columbus. Reported as such in the Ohio State Journal, November 14, 1904.

O. The dangers which lay in accepting gifts from unethical businessmen; their threat to academic freedom at institutions of higher learning; their threat to freedom of speech in churches; the record of such incidents:

> *It must not do so because such solicitation involves an endorsement of them which it has no right to give. If the acceptance of a voluntary gift implies no recognition of the giver, the solicitation of a gift puts the matter upon a different footing. The man himself has a right to infer and the public has a right to draw the same inference, that the church values his friendship and does not disapprove his conduct. No other interpretation can be put upon such an action. The Committee affirms in Principle Three that "by the acceptance of gifts the officers and members (of the Board) are not stopped from criticising the business methods" of donors. Will they say that they would feel entirely free to criticise the business methods of a donor whose gifts they have diligently solicited for the space of two years? I will do them the credit of not imputing to them any such conduct. I know that they do not intend to forfeit the respect of gentlemen. It is the simple historical fact that the business methods of such givers are not criticised by those who have solicited their bounty. When an instance of such criticism is produced we may admit the validity of this contention.*

The third of the four principles advanced by the Prudential Committee was as follows:

> (3) By acting under the above principles, which require the receiving of gifts without compelling its officers to trace the manner in which the donor may have acquired them, the Board pronounces no judgment on the character of donors. Not by the acceptance of gifts are its officers or members stopped from criticising business methods, or from persistently raising their voices in behalf of the

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[1] To the end of his days, Rockefeller took pride in his "creation," the modern trust. He felt that he had brought business methods up to date. Furthermore, he felt that he had ushered out the day of individualism. Allen Nevins, op. cit., I, p. 622.

> application of the principles of righteousness in all departments and walks of life.[1]

In Gladden's opening salvo against the acceptance of the gift which had been "offered" the Board, he took the theme, "The Religion of a Gentleman," and proceeded to expound upon what he thought a gentleman would and would not do; and he was particularly anxious to have his listeners understand what he thought a gentleman would do when offered money from dubious sources, even when it was offered for worthy causes. Three times he set the proposition before them. In the first instance his listeners were observing a friend, a known gentleman, as he moved through various circumstances. Gladden introduced a situation:

> Here is a gigantic evildoer--one of the men who by nefarious combinations have trampled thousands down to exalt and aggrandize themselves. For some reason best known to yourself this man wants the alliance of your friend and offers him a great sum of money either for his own use or for some cause in which he is interested.
>
> Will he take it? No; he cannot be bribed with money to be a companion of thievery or a partner with extortionists. He knows that there are some goods which money cannot buy and some losses for which money cannot compensate.
>
> He knows that he could not accept this man's money without treating him afterward with respect and honor, and sealing his lips to his iniquities.[2]

In the next instance his listeners were led by Gladden through a catechism of gentlemanly behavior. And the lesson was presented:

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[1] American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Annual Report, 1905, p. viii.

[2] Gladden, "The Religion of a Gentleman."

> Why will he not accept favors from one whom he regards as a public enemy? Because it is a mean thing to take a man's money in your left hand when you intend to smite him with your right hand; and because it is meaner still to accept gifts which are either meant to silence your testimony against evildoing or are likely to have that effect.[1]

Gladden counseled his listeners all along that if they together were gentlemen, then "we cannot take favors from one whom we ought to denounce as a public enemy." For examples of those who should be denounced, they could look at the great monopolists of the day. What they were doing should call the gentlemen of the nation to do battle. The government was already confronting them. His listeners, the people of the nation, whoever had ears to hear, should have seen the next point clearly. Gladden lead his hearers through it:

> The man from whom our Missionary society proposes to accept the gift is the great organizer of this system of plunder. His fortune was built on this foundation. He has taught the other plunderers most of what they know about these methods.
>
> . . . .
>
> This system must be attacked and overthrown if we want to save free government.
>
> . . . .
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> I hope they [those responsible for directly receiving the gift] are not mean enough to take his money and then turn around and fight him. I hope they are not so faithless to their obligations as to take his money and shut their mouths or become his apologists.[2]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

The maintenance of a position from which one is free to express his opinion was a prime consideration for Gladden. This involved seeking a permissive atmosphere and being properly grateful for it. It also meant keeping oneself from entangling alliances with the very interests one might be obligated to call into question. On the matter of being grateful for a place where one could speak freely, Gladden gave his personal thankfulness expression before his Columbus congregation after serving them for a decade and a half. He said at the end of one of his sermons:

> Let me close with a personal word. It is due to the congregation to whom I speak. For almost fifteen years I have stood in this place, trying to teach the truth. You do not need to be told that I have sometimes made mistakes; that the message has been marred by human errors and misconceptions. But I think you also know that I have wished to know and speak the truth. It has not always been agreeable; it has sometimes gone against the grain of your prejudices, and it has sometimes given you trouble and uneasiness. But this must be said for you,--you have given me all the liberty that any teacher could ask. There has never been the slightest attempt to abridge my freedom. I have said things that must have been rather unwelcome to rich men, but no rich man has ever hinted that I had better restrain my speech. I am not conscious of having kept back any truth because it was unwelcome; I have tried to be a faithful teacher. And you have honored my function, and have sustained me in doing my duty. I say it to your praise. I say it with deep thankfulness to God. I wish that every minister in America had such a congregation to preach to; there would be a good many happy ministers, and the word of the Lord would have free course and be glorified![1]

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[1] Gladden, "God or Mammon," Sermon, September 12, 1897, Gladden Papers.

Gladden very early recognized the danger to freedom of speech and to academic freedom that the money of large potential donors constituted. In his original "Tainted Money" article Gladden expressed a warning to preachers who might be tempted by such considerations as gifts of world tours. If they accept that sort of thing, then they cannot be expected to criticize the business methods of the one who makes the gift.[1] It was in his sermon of September 12, 1897, however, that he publicly discussed his thinking on this subject at greatest length. In that sermon, "God or Mammon," the question was, according to Gladden, "what the Germans call Lehrfreihiet--the liberty of teaching. How much freedom shall be given to students and teachers?"[2] In the sermon he expounded upon the idea that there seemed to be a trend of slight but none-the-less dangerous proportion which would have teaching conform to lines acceptable to big givers. As an example, he cited a circumstance at Brown University where the president was asked by the governing board to "suppress his views" advocating the recoinage of silver at the rate of 16 to 1. This suppression was requested "on the ground that the university might suffer from the withholding of funds on the part of those who held the contrary opinion." This was a dangerously illuminating incident, prompting Gladden to say:

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[1] Gladden, "Tainted Money," p. 887.

[2] Gladden, "God or Mammon."

> Certain it is that a strong suspicion is entertained, in a good many quarters, that some of our colleges and churches too, are under heavy obligations to men of money, whom they are careful not to offend.[1]

Gladden did not want to give the impression that all dollars contributed were ill intended. He said:

> It would be a cruel slander to say that all the men of wealth who have poured out their treasure for the endowment of our colleges had selfish and sinister ends in view; some of the brightest pages in the history of American philanthropy record the benefactions of our prosperous men to institutions of learning.[2]

However, the threat was a real one, and to be avoided at all costs. And it became worse as larger and larger amounts of wealth were falling into the hands of men who would not hesitate to use it "for the deadening of the public conscience." The colleges must be on their guard, for

> it will be a sad day for American colleges when they are suspected of shaping their policy to please the plutocracy. If any man has clean money which he wants to give, with no conditions, for the promotion of unfettered thinking and honest teaching, take his gifts and let him have praise and honor, but if any man comes with millions to the gates of the university hoping to overawe the scholar, and to muzzle the teacher, bid him go to his own place and take his money with him.[3]

The colleges must maintain their freedom to teach as they see the truth. And the same must be said for the churches. They also must "jealously guard the liberty of their pulpits." Thus two of the most important places for freedom of expression would be preserved.

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[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

The colleges particularly were confronted with the threat that was also something of a promise. Even though the donor might be tempted to use his influence to dictate administrative or teaching policy, the institutions needed the money. In fact, Gladden's words came in the midst of the time when institutions of higher learning were becoming aware of the potential good the big givers could do them.[1] And not only did they give money, but they also became part of the groups which governed the schools. Hofstadter and Metzger say that by the end of the 19th century the roster of the trustees of the institutions of higher learning in this country looked like a corporation directory.[2]

The amounts given were astounding when it was considered that the largest gift ever given prior to the Civil War was the $50,000.00 that established Harvard, but now a new order of magnitude in donations had arrived. Johns Hopkins University received $3,500,000.00 from a Baltimore merchant and capitalist; Leland Stanford Junior University received $24,000,000.00 from the estate of the

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[1] See Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University: A History (New York: Random House, 1962), pp. 424-436.

[2] Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 415.

California railroad king; the University of Chicago received $34,000,000.00 from the founder of the Standard Oil Company.[1] It was not necessarily inevitable, but once the camel's nose was inside the tent, the trend of events following was nearly always predictable. In effect, say Hofstadter and Metzger, the givers became "entrepreneurs in the field of higher education."[2] Where their efforts were well advised, the results were good; where they were not so well advised, the opposite occurred.

Curti and Nash,[3] who have given attention to the role played by philanthropy in the development of American higher education, follow Hofstadter and Metzger in tracing out some of the give-and-take characteristic in this area during Gladden's time. At this time, there were two theories on the subject of what influence large individual contributions from powerful industrialists might have on academic freedom. These were the conspiratorial theory, and the mutual incompatibility theory. The conspiratorial theory held that conservative businessmen gave generously to institutions of higher education in order to insure the teaching of orthodox economic and social ideas. The mutual incompatibility theory postulated that there existed a basic and irreconcilable conflict between the so-called academic and the likewise so-called business mind, the former insisting on unhampered search for truth and the latter on the right of a donor to manage an institution he had established or supported in the same manner in which he controlled his own business. There does not appear to be agreement among scholars that either theory is supported by historical evidence in any one-to-one instance.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 413.

[2] Ibid., p. 414.

[3] Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1965).

There were occasional occurrences of interference with the operation of the university or college gifted heavily by a particular philanthropist, but few cases seemed to have a very strong basis in fact. Two examples may be drawn from Curti and Nash out of the very few offered. One is from what might have been a long record of interference in the operation of Stanford University by the widow of its founder. The case cited is one involving a certain Edward A. Ross, professor of economics and religion (a strange combination of diciplines!) who was dismissed at Mrs. Stanford's urging, and over the protests of President David Starr Jordan, protests that stopped just short of jeopardizing his own position in the University's structure. Ross's crime was that of publicly defending Eugene V. Debs, a socialist regarded by those sharing the prevailing views of the business community as a dangerous man. In addition, Ross supported William Jennings Bryan in the campaign of 1896, advocated the municipal ownership of utilities, and criticized unrestricted immigration of Chinese coolies despite the fact that the late founder and his associates had used them extensively in building the railroads from which the Stanford millions had come. Mrs. Stanford had her way, and Ross was dismissed, along with a Professor George Howard who protested the act of dismissal.[1]

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 131.

At Cornell another incident took place which also attracted the attention of those interested in the maintenance of academic freedom. In 1886 Professor Henry C. Adams gave an on-campus speech which was reported in the press as being strongly in support of the position taken by the railroad employees who were then striking against the Gould interests. The chairman of Cornell's trustees, a wealthy man whose gifts, present and prospective, were much appreciated as well as anticipated by the institution, insisted that Adams be dismissed, and he was.[2]

Perhaps the best and the worst of what can be said of the situation vis-a-vis academic freedom's cause in Gladden's day is that the record suggests that, as Curti and Nash put it,

> a full understanding of academic freedom had not yet formed in the minds of either well-to-do benefactors, administrators, and trustees of private institutions

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[1] Ibid., pp. 132-133. [2] Ibid., pp. 133-134.

or those who controlled the state institutions.[1] It would not be until 1915 that the American Association of University Professors would be founded and give shape and direction to this never-ending dialogue. However, it is clear to this writer that Gladden anticipated the essence of a statement endorsed by that esteemed body, a half century later, which ran:

> The demand we of the academic world make for academic freedom is not made primarily for our own benefit. We enjoy the exercise of freedom; but the purposes of liberty lie, in a democracy, in the common welfare. It has recently been said, "With regard to some occupations, it is eminently in the interest of society that the men concerned speak their minds without fear of retribution . . . The occupational work of the vast majority of people is largely independent of their thought and speech. The professor's work consists of his thought and speech. If he loses his position for what he writes or says, he will, as a rule, have to leave his profession, and may no longer be able effectively to defend challenged doctrines. And if some professors lose their positions for what they write or say, the effect on many other professors will be such that their usefulness to their students and to society will be gravely reduced.[2]

Gladden coveted this kind of freedom for all teachers, including "moral teachers" like himself. There was no worse threat to be made than a threat to this freedom. As a gentleman, Gladden could not accept the kind of money Rockefeller's represented and still feel free to give his methods the criticism they deserved. There were those who believed that it could be done, the Prudential Committee among them. Gladden would believe it when he saw it.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 134.

[2] Louis Joughin, (ed.), *Academic Freedom and Tenure: A Handbook of the American Association of University Professors* (Madison, Milwaukee, and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), p. 48.

P. Gladden's philosophy of religious giving; the popular rationale for missionary support; an expression admired by Gladden:

> *The church is not wise to solicit the gifts of multimillionaires because in this quest its own power is apt to be paralyzed and its natural resources dried up. Nothing is more fatal than the habit of dependence on such sources. Even when there is no moral question raised, the exploiting of big donations lessens the interest of the multitude of small givers on whom the work must mainly rest. The gifts of the Congregational churches to missions are less now than they were ten years ago, though their numbers have considerably increased and their wealth has probably doubled. I think that one main cause of this is an increasing tendency to turn to the big givers.*
>
> *The Baptist churches, according to Dr. Josiah Strong, are giving forty per cent less now than ten years ago, even counting the much heralded donations of their largest giver. Wise men in that church attribute that shrinkage to these big gifts.*
>
> *Simply as a matter of economy, therefore, the policy which the Committee is introducing is likely to prove suicidal. But if this policy is followed a moral injury is to be apprehended whose effects will be much more disastrous. The result of cultivating friendship with men of low moral tone cannot be healthful to the work of the Board. Such an exhibit as has been put forth, in connection with this case, of sordid reasons for the propagation of Christian missions illustrates the tendency to which I am calling attention. There is no help in such alliances; there is weakness in them. One can hear the solemn words of the old prophet: "Woe unto them that go down to Egypt for help and stay on horses and trust in chariots because they are many and in horsemen because they are very strong: but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord." "Therefore shall the strength of Pharoah be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion."*

The line of thought Gladden chose to follow in this particular section of his Seattle speech was never touched upon in any of his other speeches related to the theme at hand. The writer knows of no other place during the course of the controversy where this particular thesis was advanced, either by one associated with the Board or Gladden himself. The new idea was that the total support pattern of the work of the churches was endangered by reliance upon the large gifts of men of unusual wealth. However, seven years before, Gladden had at least made his philosophy of giving known in a book on the function of the minister in the church and on the program of the church in the local community. It was entitled, The Christian Pastor and the Working Church, and it contained a 12-page chapter on "Missionary Societies and Church Contributions."[1]

If this writer has correctly interpreted what Gladden has written in that chapter on what the church's practice of giving should be, there is some slight contradiction to what Gladden advanced in his Seattle speech. There is no surprise to find him there counseling that people should be warned about their business practices, and that money made in wrongdoing should not be accepted. He warned, "The Christian pastor must beware how he soils his hands with the rewards of iniquity."[2] But the first rule for the pastor to keep in mind in the raising of funds is that "much of the largest part of the offering ought to come from a comparatively small number. The inequalities of conditions are such in most of our churches that the few are abundantly able to give much more than the many can give."[1] He does not advocate that all should give five per cent, or ten per cent, or some such uniform percentage of income. Rather, he recommends that the larger one's income, the greater the proportion that should be devoted to the church and its causes. He concludes on this point:

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[1] Gladden, The Christian Pastor and the Working Church, pp. 362-377.

[2] Ibid., pp. 372-373.

> The application of this principle, that those whose surplus is large should expect to contribute _much more_, _in proportion to their incomes_, than those whose surplus is small, should be faithfully made by the Christian pastor.[2] (Emphasis supplied.)

A second principle that he advances is that everyone should be encouraged to give something on a regular basis, no matter how small the amount. He says, "The mites of the million would furnish to our benevolent operations a motive power which we cannot afford to lose."[3] This writer feels that there is some contradiction between these two points, and that Gladden's entire plan advanced in the chapter moves more against the stream of his Seattle argument than with it.

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 374.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 374.

[3] _Ibid_.

One thing seems clear, however. That is that Gladden did not place much emphasis on fund raising in the church, so far as public statements reveal.[1] He devotes only six pages out of his 486-page book to the subject; and even these contain the statement, "It would . . . be far better if the entire revenues of the church could be provided by other means."[2] And even though he explains that the weekly offerings should thus go entirely to "benevolences," the sense of the statement is that it is a matter that is best gotten clear of as quickly as possible.[3] It was perhaps propitious that a somewhat different attitude came upon him at Seattle, but it did, and he would touch upon it again before concluding.

So much for the "fatal habit" of depending overmuch on big givers. The second important thought emerging from this section is that "sordid reasons for the propagation of Christian missions" were being advanced. Again the small sampling of Gladden's speaking that we have been considering in this study is silent on the point. However, the same chapter that we have been considering from Gladden's book on the minister and the church provides a clue. In it he says of the state of missionary work in the world that:

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[1] Even among the sermons considered in this study, the one entitled "Good Stewardship" deals with talents, not money. See bibliography.

[2] Gladden, The Christian Pastor, p. 376.

[3] Ibid.

> A certain supremacy has already been won for nominal Christianity. The immense vigor of the Christian civilization compared with the civilizations that have been produced by other faiths, is thus demonstrated. But the triumph is full of peril. The vast multitudes which have been brought under Christian rule need to know something more of the power of Christ than the soldier or the civil servant or the trader is likely to teach them. A Christianity which is merely official or nominal may easily become a snare to them. The form of Christianity without the power thereof bewilders and burdens them.

In other words, he went on to explain, Christianity is not merely a belief system that makes western civilization's cultural, political, and economic expansion easier. It is the power of God at work in people's lives to make them nobler and happier. This was not the line of thought advanced in support of missions by at least two persons prominently associated with the gift, one on the side of the donor, the other on the side of the receivers.

F. T. Gates, a Baptist minister, and a full-time employee as Rockefeller's advisor in matters of religious (and sometimes secular) contributions, was the intermediary through whom the American Board's representatives worked in the solicitation of the gift. After he had become convinced of the worthiness of the Board's appeal, he wrote a memo to the oil king recommending that the gift be authorized couched in the following terms:

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[1] Ibid., p. 366.

[2] See James L. Barton, "The Correspondence on the Rockefeller Gift," Independent, LVIII (April 20, 1905), pp. 871-874.

> . . . missionaries and missionary schools are *introducing the application of modern science* . . . into foreign lands. *The result* will be eventually to *multiply the productive power of foreign countries* many times.
>
> This will *enormously enrich them as buyers of American products* and *enormously enrich us as importers* of their products. *We are only in the very dawn of commerce*, and *we owe that dawn*, with all its promise, more than to anything else, *to the pioneer work* and *the channels opened up by the Christian missionaries* . . . The debt of America, therefore, to missions is simply incalculable. Yet the fruitage is only in its beginnings.
>
> . . . look at Japan, for illustration! *Quite apart from the question of persons converted*, the mere commercial results of the missionary effort to our own land is worth, I had almost said, a thousand-fold every year of what is spent on missions . . . *Missionary enterprise, therefore, viewed solely from a commercial standpoint, is immensely profitable*. From the point of view of subsistence for Americans, our import trade, traceable mainly to the channels of intercourse opened up by the missionaries is enormous . . .
>
> But our imports are balanced by our exports, to these same countries, of American manufactures. Our export trade is growing by leaps and bounds. *Such growth would have been utterly impossible but for the commercial conquests of foreign lands under the lead of missionary endeavor*. *What a boon to home industry and manufacture!* . . .
>
> The fact that the sources of your wealth, . . . are drawn from mankind more widely than those of any man who has preceded you, seems to invite you to special consideration of the needs of all nations and the islands of the sea. Is it not entirely reasonable that a portion, at least, of the revenues derived from your extensive trade with foreign peoples should go back to them, laden through this missionary organization, with *the blessings of* Christianity and *civilization*?[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

Whether Gates used these terms because they best expressed his own inner conviction about the "value" of missions, or because he knew that this approach would be most apt to persuade Rockefeller is not known. However, the terms were used, and since the gift was granted, we can only assume that they did indeed strike the right note.

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[1] *New York Times*, April 17, 1905.

President Capen of the American Board expressed similar views in similar terms the evening following Gladden's speech when he addressed the assembly on the theme, "Save the World to Save America." He began:

> *First, we need to develop foreign missions to save our nation commercially*. There are two propositions which are capable of proof: One, that we shall have recurring and increasing business depressions at home unless we have larger markets abroad; the other, that *only as we develop missionary work and create the needs which come with Christian civilization can we have these larger markets*.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

He went on to point out that several factors were combining to open up trade in many new areas overseas, especially in the East and Far East. Manufacturing facilities were being expanded. A "group of capitalists of which James J. Hill is the head" was preparing to handle the trade with their newly constructed steamships. He went on:

> As the interior districts of all these nations are steadily opened up by missionary influence and *the new wants created*, the United States is in the very best possible position to get the business.
>
> It is only as we develop missions that we shall have a market in the Orient which will demand our manufactured articles in sufficient quantities to match these increased facilities. *The Christian man is our customer*. *The heathen or non-Christian man, as a rule, has very few wants*. The native of Egypt or of South Africa may live for years in close touch with Christian civilization, but he does not because of this change his manner of life or have any more

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[1] *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, September 16, 1905.

> wants. *It is only when he is changed within that there comes this desire for the manifold articles that belong to the Christian man and the Christian home*. A missionary is everywhere and always the pioneer of trade.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

Capen concluded:

> Certainly we have come now to the hour when to deliver our home churches from *a materialism which is depriving them of their spiritual life and power* we need a new baptism of the spirit, which shall interest us as never before in the work of foreign missions.[2] (Emphasis supplied.)

Thus Capen, and before him Gates, presented the value of the Christian missionary enterprise, to use what seems an appropriate term. It was a businessman's thesis, prepared by businessmen,[3] to appeal to businessmen's motives.

Upon what would Gladden have preferred to see an appeal for missionary support based? He was to answer that in his report to his congregation in Columbus the Sunday following the Seattle meeting, by reading several paragraphs from a sermon delivered before the delegates at their closing assembly. The sermon was preached by a Dr. Dawson, and Gladden (reading from a newspaper column pasted in his manuscript) quoted at length from it because he thought it had bearing on the conduct and bearing of the whole meeting. He read in part:

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[1] *Ibid*.

[2] *Ibid*.

[3] Even the clergyman Gates was better known for his financial aptitude than for his spiritual. See Josephson, *op. cit*., pp. 321-322, 323, 397.

> The ideal of the church must be reconstructed, and in that reconstruction a great purification of policy and aim will be involved. I would beg those who are sincerely grieved over the decline of enthusiasm for missions to ask, [sic] whether that decline is not largely due to a lowering of the missionary motive in which we have all connived? In putting our cause before the tribunals of commerce, have we not paraded the axiom that commerce follows the cross? Have we not often sought to justify missions by an appeal to the business instincts of men, instead of by an appeal to their spiritual enthusiasm? When, a few years ago in England, Cecil Rhodes boasted that the British flag was a great commercial asset, men of noble mind and genuine patriotism were justly resentful of a speech manifestly tainted by the coarse temper of organized greed; but how much more should one resent the plea that the cross of Christ is a valuable asset of commerce? This is a fatal lowering of the missionary motive. It may be very true that in the present condition of the world commerce follows the cross, but we have no right to think of it. The promoter of commerce brings no throb to my heart; but that all mankind may adore Him whom I adore, that is a hope which makes my heart throb indeed. Our business is to build up, not commerce, not empire, nor even civilization, but the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ. And in the degree that we keep the motive high, and refuse any partnership, explicit or implicit, with those who serve God for gain, will the best men of the world rally to us and to our work.[1]

The contrast between this view, endorsed by Gladden, and that advanced by the representatives of Rockefeller and the American Board might have indeed made the latter's seem "sordid" in retrospect. However, Dawson's sermon came later, and Gladden said no more. One wonders what the results might have been if Dawson's sermon could have come before Gladden's speech, or if Gladden had expounded at greater length upon this particular line of thought. And did the audience have either the capacity or disposition to interpret the quotations from Isaiah (30:3, 31:1) in terms of their own behavior?

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[1] Quoted in Gladden, "A Long Journey and a Lively Debate." Also see the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 19, 1905.

Q. Gladden returns to the theme of the Board's representative character; the Board's record of altruistic work; their commitment to acceptance of the gift; Gladden's popular support:

> *A kindred reason why this Board should not make friends with predatory wealth is found in the grief and shame and weakness it brings to the churches whose agent the Board is, with whose life it is identified, and upon whose strength it must rely. This Board is not an independent organization. It is the representative of the Congregational churches. For whatever it does we must bear the responsibility. Of the glorious work it has done, and it has done some of the best work this world has ever seen, we have had the credit. Of the mistakes it has made, and it has made some woeful ones, we have had the blame.*
>
> *Now, I am aware that there are Congregational churches and Congregational ministers to whom such alliances as we are considering are not offensive. They think them suitable and helpful. I do not judge them. But there are other churches and other ministers, a good many of them, to whom associations of this nature are very unwelcome. I know them, and I have a right to speak for them for they have told me, in many impressive ways what they think, and how they feel. Their judgment is summed up in these words of a veteran missionary now in the field: "It seems to me like countenancing evil-doers in their evil doings to solicit and use funds from them for the work of the churches of Jesus Christ." There are a great many thousands of Congregationalists who share this feeling, and I ask the members of this Board most earnestly to consider whether the gains they are likely to get from these doubtful sources will compensate them for the injury which they are inflicting upon their loyal friends in the Congregational churches. An injury it is, and a shame it is. You may not understand it, but we must be permitted to testify for ourselves. We know when we suffer, and we know when we are ashamed. The honor and the strength of the Congregational churches is dear to us, and when anything is done in their name that offends our sense of honor the shame is ours.*

From the first, Gladden claimed that the Board was not an independent agency. In his very first public utterance directed against acceptance of the gift he described the unethical business practices he thought characteristic of the donor, and then said:

> This system must be attacked and overthrown if we want to save free government. In every such battle for freedom and righteousness the Congregational churches have been in the firing line.
>
> And now, on the eve of this battle, they are asked to accept a great gift of money from the man who more completely than any other represents the system they are summoned to fight.[1]

It was clear that he felt that it was the Congregational denomination which was confronted with a decision.

In a similar vein, one Daniel Evans, a Congregational minister in Cambridge, Massachusetts, stated before a meeting of his fellow clergymen of the denomination:

> It cannot be overlooked that the prudential committee, as representing the board, is but the organ of the church in its missionary operations. We ask the prudential committee, as an organ of the church, not to involve the church in entangling alliances with opposing interests and antagonistic forces.[2]

The point that Gladden made in the beginning was never contested by the Board itself. They might have, as they had been from the start, a wholly independent corporation, not responsible to the denomination in any legal way whatsoever. But to have used that as a point of argument would, no doubt, have caused many Congregationalists to wonder why money from their church treasuries was regularly sent for the Board's use.

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[1] Gladden, "The Religion of a Gentleman."

[2] In the Ohio State Journal, April 4, 1905.

However, Gladden raised the point of the Board's dependence. Well he might have. In terms of money, $594,850.75 of the total of $752,149.75 that came into the Board's coffers during the 12 months prior to the Seattle meeting came from the churches of the Congregationalist denomination.[1] They were not merely contributing to it, it was their agency. And in terms of public understanding, the Board was everywhere identified with the Congregational churches, meeting in their buildings, staffed with their laymen and clergy, now holding a meeting in a Congregationalist auditorium with some 400 pairs of Congregationalist eyes looking on. The Board had indeed done excellent work, but it had done so implicitly for the Congregational churches. As National Moderator of that denomination, and a long-time corporate member of the Board, he was in a position to note this fact for his audience.

Some glorious things had been accomplished in the name of the Board, and some other things it had done were not so glorious. We have already noted Gladden's conflict with the Board over the doctrine of eternal punishment. Perhaps he had that in mind as one of their "mistakes." Perhaps he also had in mind a small constellation of incidents related to the cause of abolition. In 1841 a group of mutineering slaves cast up on Long Island had their freedom to return to Africa won for them by ex-President John Quincy Adams after the American Board's members had refused an invitation to intervene.[1] With many of their schools for Indians in slave-holding states they refused to get involved with this controversy; and later they even denounced Garrison for his views.[2]

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[1] Seattle Times, September 15, 1905.

One Newman Smyth, writing as a correspondent in the Outlook of April 22, 1905, recounted another possible mistake. It was the Board's refusal to turn back the gifts of known slaveholders, even though public opinion in the North had at last begun to move against the evil practice. He cited several documents, one of which contained a declaration of the Board issued in 1838, and another issued in 1845. They are cited here for the same reason Smyth reported them, because their reasoning was so much like that employed by the Prudential Committee in 1905. The 1838 statement contained these words:

> 1. The Board in its corporate capactiy, as a benevolent Christian institution, has nothing directly to do with slavery. 2. The Board and its general officers do not profess to know, and cannot generally know, the character and motives of those who contribute to its funds, or the sources of their incomes.[3]

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[1] Reported in Starkey, The Congregational Way, pp. 215-218.

[2] Ibid., p. 219.

[3] "Mr. Rockefeller's Gift," Outlook, LXXIX (April 22, 1905), p. 962.

The 1845 statement read in part:

> It is very manifest that we cannot properly examine into the motives of those who sustain our operations, and that an attempt to do this would be marked with absurdity, and would plunge us into difficulties from which we could not be easily extricated.[1]

It is not clear, of course, whether these are the kinds of "mistakes" Gladden wished to bring to mind. Evidence to be displayed later from Gladden's incoming correspondence suggests that some did think of these things.

It was clear, however, that some Congregationalists did not consider the acceptance of the Rockefeller gift a mistake. Amory H. Bradford, pastor of one of the largest churches of that denomination, wrote that the great man was certainly not to be accused of seeking the approval of the churches. It was simply a case of "a noble enterprise in its extreme need making its appeal to him."[2] He was glad that the money had come from a source which employed many honorable men whom he knew well.

One Linn L. Mills wrote to Gladden on stationery from the office of the president of Mills College, California, saying in part:

> You will pardon me for the liberty I take in writing you that we with hosts of others regret the ground you are taking about our beloved A. B. C. F. M.
>
> . . . .
>
> Mr. Mills and I had charge for some years of the Jaffna College in Ceylon, and I am rejoiced,

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 963.

[2] Amory H. Bradford, "An Approving View," *Congregationalist*, (April 1, 1905), p. 424.

> as are many others that this College is to have a share in Mr. Rockefeller's gifts. "The silver and the gold belong to the Lord" and should be used for his glory, and I am glad to have them come to His service through all channels.[1]

But, says Dorn, the letters and telegrams that Gladden received were 20 to 1 in favor of Gladden's position.[2] Gladden was fairly inundated with communications. He was to write of it in his Recollections: "The response of the people to this protest was one that touched me deeply. Letters from all parts of the Union literally poured in upon me, for months."[3] "Hundreds" came, and, he said, "I have kept them all."[4]

The letters of support were from a variety of persons. A member of Gladden's church, a professor in the department of American history and political science at Ohio State University, wrote in part:

> I sincerely hope you will win out in the righteous fight you have entered on. No one who has even a decent knowledge of Standard Oil history, and who himself makes any pretense of moral principle can, it seems to me, fail to be with you.[5]

A Congressman who was also a Congregationalist wrote in part, "I fully concur with you in your opposition to the acceptance of $100,000.00 from John D. Rockefeller by the

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[1] Linn L. Mills to Gladden, March 31, 1905.

[2] Dorn, op. cit., p. 322.

[3] Gladden, Recollections, p. 409.

[4] Ibid.

[5] G. S. Knight to Gladden, March 28, 1905.

Foreign Missionary Society."[1] Josiah Strong of the American Institute of Social Service wrote in part:

> I want to thank you for the stand you have taken, and the words of truth and soberness which you have uttered. Surely they were sorely needed. It is pitiable to see a great Christian organization and numbers of religious teachers who seem to be ignorant of primary ethical principles.[2]

A district secretary for the American Missionary Association wrote in part: "My soul is so stirred up over the acceptance of money by the American Board from John D. Rockefeller that I can hardly eat. Heaven lead not the A. M. A. into temptation of a similar kind!" This particular correspondent went on:

> If there is any moral dynamite in our Congregational body it ought to be felt from Eastport to Seattle.
>
> As Daniel O'Connell said of slaveholders' gifts, "it's blood money and I'll have none of it." How can we condemn the business practices of a man with one breath and thank him for his gifts with the next?[3]

A fellow minister wrote in part:

> As the pastor of the First Church of Bridgeport and a corporate member of the A. B. C. F. M. I am gratified by the position you have taken in regard to the Rockefeller gift to the Board.[4]

And another letter contained the simple line, "I am an honorary member of the Board, and I very heartily approve of the stand you have taken in regard to this matter."

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[1] W. E. Driscoll to Gladden, March 31, 1905.

[2] Josiah Strong to Gladden, April 5, 1905.

[3] George H. Gutterson to Gladden, March 17, 1905.

[4] John De Pen to Gladden, March 20, 1905.

But he too went on:

> I well remember the stand the churches took in regard to slavery previous to the Civil War, and with the great progress that there is now in the world concerning this great reform they cannot afford to repeat the stand that they took in favor of slavery.[1]

Perhaps one of the most touching letters came from the Western District Secretary of the American Missionary Association. He declared:

> Barton sought the money--It would not have been offered if it had not been invited--This is the temptation of the secretary, to yield to a spirit of commercialism--The efficiency of a man depends upon the money he "raises."
>
> The condition is such that I personally feel that as soon as possible I must return to the pastorate and in Christian loyalty, be my own man.[2]

According to the sampling of Congregational opinion on the issue which had been volunteered Gladden, he was expressing well the grievance of the churches.

R. Gladden's concern for the reaction of the workingman to acceptance; the workingman's relationship to the churches at the turn of the century:

But it is not only our feelings that are hurt, our power is weakened. We know what our tasks are, and what are the difficulties before us. We are trying to bridge the chasm that divides the great masses of the working people of this country from the church. It is the one urgent business of the Christian church today. We know that the churches, in the view of these people, are in altogether too close relations with predatory wealth. If we cannot correct this impression we cannot win these people.

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[1] Charles C. Haskell to Gladden, March 27, 1905.

[2] W. L. Tenney to Gladden, March 27, 1905.

> *"For years," says a professor in one of our leading New England colleges, "I have been seeing more of the wage-earning people of New England. Their alienation from the church is a fact with us. * * * They are watching to see what decision is to be made of this question of tainted money. If the resolution which you have framed as an offset to the statement issued by the Prudential Committee is rejected, in substance or form, at Seattle, we must expect, in this part of the country, to see the workingmen turn their backs upon our churches."*
>
> *Not upon our churches alone. Such action will affect not merely the Congregational churches. It will be laid up against all the churches. It will be regarded as indicating the attitude which the Christian Church of this country has taken upon this question. And it will send a chill through the frame of every working man who reads it and widen and deepen the chasm between the church and the entire class of wage-workers. The task of every man who is trying to close up that chasm, and to convince the working people that the church of today is the church of Him who came to preach the gospel to the poor, will be made more arduous, and hope will die in his heart.*
>
> *Don't tell me I am making too much of a small matter. I know what I am talking about. I have been on the firing line in this warfare for a good many years, and I know how the battle is going. The appalling thing about it all is that so many of those who ought to be our leaders know so little and seem to care so little. But I implore you, as one whose experience is entitled to some credit, that you will not, by your action here today, put any more obstacles in the way of those who seek to make the Congregational Church the church of the common people.*

Gladden was deeply concerned with the lot of the workingman. He had written several books and articles on the subject of the social ethics of labor, and, according to Childs and Cater's Ethics in a Business Society, had moved from a position that they define as "profoundly classical," offering only the time-worn solutions to labor's problems, to one that anticipated many of the advances that would come later. He indorsed unionism, and said that labor had many times more coming to it as a just share of the economic pie than anyone had yet dared dream. And if to gain their fair part of it, it came to war, then Gladden would probably be found on the side of the workingman.[1] He was especially worried about their relationship to the churches. Well there might have been intense concern over the laboring man's future, if his immediate past was taken as a measure. As late as 1877 the Congregationalist was saying:

> Bring on then the troops--the armed police--in overwhelming numbers. Bring out the Gatling guns. Let there be no fooling with blank cartridges. But let the mob know, everywhere, that for it to stand one moment after it has been ordered by proper authorities to disperse, will be to be shot down in its tracks . . . A little of the vigor of the first Napoleon is the thing we now need.[2]

And in 1892, the Christian Advocate was shocked by the idea that a company had an obligation to confer with its employees:

> Extend the rights of the state to the compelling of men or corporations to confer with representatives of labor, and you have despotism or Bellamyism forthwith . . .[3]

What were workingmen to think of the church, if its press issued such statements?

The pulpit had not done much better. Henry Ward Beecher, speaking in his Plymouth Church in Brooklyn in 1877, said that it was true that $1.00 a day was not enough to support a man and five children, if the man insisted on smoking and drinking beer. But a dollar a day was enough to buy bread. Water costs nothing. (Laughter.) He said that the man who could not live on bread and water was not fit to live. (Again laughter.) The report of his sermon went on:

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[1] Marquis W. Childs and Douglass Cater, Ethics In A Business Society (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), pp. 142-143.

[2] Ibid., p. 140.

[3] Ibid.

> When a man is educated away from the power of self-denial, he is falsely educated. A family may live on good bread and water in the morning, water and bread at midday, and good water and bread at night. (Continued laughter.) Such may be called the bread of affliction, but it was fit that man should eat of the bread of affliction. (Applause.)[1]

Mowry attests that, by 1905, the laboring people had pretty well deserted the established churches. When a well-known labor leader was asked to name the religious groups most friendly to his cause he put ethical societies first and Protestant churches last. And when, in 1900, a nation-wide survey was taken by a clergyman as to why workers did not go to church, the replies were almost unanimous: the Protestant church was being run by and for the rich; it sanctified the capitalist ethic and damned labor unions and strikes as inventions of the devil.[2] Starkey reports that the Congregational churches fared no better in their relationships with the workingman than did any of the others in the Protestant religious establishment.

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[1] In Leon Litwack, The American Labor Movement (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), pp. 56-57.

[2] Mowry, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

Their preachers did not know what to make of the labor movement, and the line they fell back on was the old Puritan one that a man ought to be content with the station to which God had called him by birth.[1]

Gladden deplored this situation. In a sermon delivered January 24, 1892, he denied that the churches were disinterested in the problems of the workingman. He was certain that the clergy were well informed on all labor's problems. He said:

> I am in a position to know what are the opinions and sentiments of ministers of the gospel generally; and I do not hesitate to say that there is no class of men in the country who are so intelligent upon this subject, and who are, on the whole, as sympathetic with the laboring classes, as are the pastors of our churches.[2]

Characterizing himself as "one who watches the progress of thought on social questions," he proceeded to discuss the relatively new concept of settling labor disputes through the process of arbitration, and the philosophy of profit sharing. Both these he saw as the desirable ways of the future.

Then, when the storm of controversy broke over the subject of the Rockefeller gift, Gladden saw that the eyes of the workingmen, those few who still cared at all about such things, would be upon the churches to see what decision was made. His strongest statement came in his address at Young's Hotel:

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[1] Starkey, op. cit., pp. 262-263.

[2] Gladden, n. t., Sermon, January 2, 1892, Gladden Papers.

> The effect upon the working people of the land and upon the whole of the non-churchgoing class must . . . be well considered. There are many explanations, some of which are more or less plausible, of the increasing absence of the industrious self-respecting working people from our churches, but the one great cause is the almost universal belief that the churches of the country are in too close relations with unscrupulous and predacious wealth. A good many of us have been trying hard to correct this impression and to remove the causes of it. We have felt that the separation between the churches and these honest, hard-working people, who are the bone and sinew of our population, is the approbrium of our Christianity. We had hoped that our Congregational Churches [sic] were making some progress toward a better understanding with them, but the effect of the acceptance of this gift will be to widen and deepen the chasm between the churches and those whom they most need to reach. It is fatuous to doubt it. From all over the land, already, the testimony is pouring in showing that this is sure to happen. By the working people, the average people, everywhere, the protest against the acceptance of the gift was met with a glad outcry of hope and thanksgiving; while the tidings that it has been overruled has called forth bitter words of despairing indignation.
>
> If the church wishes to regain its hold upon the people who heard its Master gladly, it must keep itself free from such alliances as these.[1]

Later, as letters such as the one quoted from in his Seattle speech[2] continued to come in, he no doubt became even more sure of his ground.

He was indeed concerned. He was indeed a veteran who had "been on the firing line in this warfare for a good many years." The Boston Herald in commenting upon Gladden in his Young's Hotel address admitted as much:

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[1] "Dr. Gladden Makes Reply."

[2] William MacDonald (Professor of History in Brown University) to Gladden, August 21, 1905.

> Possibly there is not another clergyman of the Congregational denomination so competent to speak intelligently and sympathetically of the sentiment of the wage workers of the country toward its current religious motive and service. He knows what they are thinking in their hearts of the intimate relations of the church of the day with the powerful controllers of the syndicated capital of the country. He knows their bitterness toward trusts and monopolies which are making the lives of their children harder and the chance of their emancipation more uncertain.[1]

Gladden may have known whereof he spoke; he may indeed have been an authority on the subject. But he was speaking to the employers, the owners, the haves. The long and heated history of labor's efforts to achieve a measure of economic reward for their contribution to the productive process was alive in the hearts of his hearers. It was a hot coal which threatened to ignite and burn away their profits, their status, and their place as mediators, spiritual and temporal. Hence, they may not have been entirely open to accept Gladden's line of thought on this particular point.

S. The potential effect of acceptance upon young people:

> *I think I have given adequate reasons why the missionary society of the Congregational churches should not cultivate the friendship and cooperation of men who represent the aggregations of predatory wealth which now threaten the life of this republic. It may be asked who*

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[1] Boston Herald, April 28, 1905.

> *these men are. It is not necessary to name them. There are not many of them. It will not be difficult for the officers of the society to learn their names by a little inquiry among their neighbors. With such a caution as the resolution which I am advocating contains, I am willing to leave the matter to the discretion of the Committee.*
>
> *But I shall be asked whether all rich men are not under the same condemnation. I answer no. There are multitudes of them who are governed by no such purposes. There are thousands and tens of thousands of men in large and active business whose methods are in the main honorable and fair.*
>
> *It may be true, I think it is true, that there have been evil tendencies among them. Some of them have been sometimes tempted to imitate the schemes of the rebate robbers, and the frenzied financiers; and the church may be partly to blame for this, for the churches and the colleges have been giving their certificates of character to the worst of these offenders, and it could hardly be wondered at if ambitious men sometimes assumed that their methods were laudable and exemplary. We owe to our active businessmen sounder ethical instruction--not such as is expressed in the moral indifferentism respecting the sources of gifts in the statement of principles before us.*

Almost lost in this passage of reassurances echoing Gladden's earlier statements made in both this speech and many others[1] is a line that he might have wished to expand upon: "the churches and the colleges have been giving their certificates of character to the worst of these offenders, and it could hardly be wondered at if ambitious men sometimes assumed that their methods were laudable and exemplary." In 1895, in his "Tainted Money" article he had written that when large gifts are received by colleges from wealthy donors, even though their means of gaining money be questionable,

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[1] See, for example, "The Religion of a Gentleman" in which Gladden said that although the possession of millions are likely to be a hindrance to right actions, it does not necessarily denote an evil personage. Earlier, in "My Neighbor the Millionaire," he had announced that he was not willing to accept the idea that anyone with a million or more was evil. And later, in "Good Stewards," he noted that although some doubted the honesty of anyone with more than a million dollars, he personally did not.

> glowing words of eulogy will not be wanting. The young men of the institution who look and listen will thus be aided in forming their theories of life. The whole world will see who these Christian scholars and leaders of the people delight to honor. So it is that public opinion is formed, and that men who are the pirates of industry and the spoilers of the state are advanced to the front rank in modern society.[1]

This was a point he repeated in other and fewer words in his sermon on the religion of a gentleman; and it was one he made most amply in his Young's Hotel address:

> The Church which accepts the Standard Oil Company as its yoke-fellow can hardly hope to keep the respect of right-minded young men and women. Tens of thousands of these have been studying social problems in our colleges and universities, and their minds are clear upon the bearing of these social questions. The Church which, for money, is ready to condone social injustice will lose its hold on these young people. They are able to understand the law of Christ, and they have studied the record of this iniquity, and they know that there can be no agreement between them. They will either be repelled from the Church, as too many of them have already been, or else, drawn by the example of those who ought to be better guides into compliance with what they know to be wrong, their moral standards will be lowered and their characters undermined. Let no man dismiss this as chimera; the Church is in great danger of inflicting terrible injury upon the youth of this generation, and thus of striking a fatal blow at her own life.[2]

Gladden had wondered out loud at the consequences in the minds of the people of the churches approving tacitly the methods of the monopolists by accepting their gifts. The effects upon the young people in colleges he had especially wondered about. Now he also wondered about what such action would mean to those businessmen who were tempted to adopt erroneous practices but had not because the churches were opposed to them. "Moral indifferentism" would not be a good example.

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[1] Gladden, "Tainted Money," p. 887.

[2] "Dr. Gladden Makes Reply."

T. The financial plight of the Board; its lack of support from the churches; Gladden's insistence upon the churches' support:

> *It is sometimes implied that if we are shut out from appeal to these doubtful sources, our resources will be crippled. That is a counsel of cowardice and infidelity. We have our Congregational constituency, and how much more do we need? Are not the people of our churches able to support their own missionary organizations? These are vines of their own right hand's planting, they have watched and watered from the beginning; their heart's love is bound up in them; can we not trust them to see that they are nourished and carried on from strength to strength and from glory to glory? The Congregational people are increasing in numbers and their financial ability has been growing by leaps and bounds. They are well able to do today, not merely as much as they did ten years ago, but twice as much.*
>
> *I have already said that they are failing in this, sadly failing. I am not quite clear as to the reason of this. I am sure that it is not the fault of the officers of this society. They have done strong work, patient and wise and efficient work, in trying to bring the claims of the cause which they represent home to the hearts of the people of the churches. If the churches had responded, as they ought to have responded, to their appeals the treasury would have been full, continually, and there would have been no occasion to go outside of our own constituency for the means to carry on our work. Because of this failure the officers of this society have often had to carry a heavy burden of anxiety, and they have been forced to turn in many directions for the supply of their necessities. If there is fault here, the beginning of blame is with us, and not with them.*

C. H. Patton, a member of the Prudential Committee, was delivering an appeal in behalf of the treasury of the Board during the morning session of the 15th, when he was interrupted by Gladden's entrance and the introduction of the two resolutions. Patton's speech was devoted to plans for increasing the total giving to the work of the Board by some $100,000.00 per year through its centennial year of 1910. He attempted to make several points in passing. One was that he was always amazed and pleased at the continuing stream of small but meaningful gifts that came into the Board's headquarters everyday. A contrasting point he wanted to make clear was that there was an alarming down-trend in the amounts set aside for the Board's work by local churches. He said that "an average cut of from forty to fifty per cent" had come to be the rule rather than the exception in recent years. Thus, while it was gratifying to have the many small gifts from individuals, the work could not go on without the money from the church budgets, and that source was drying up. And now there was another frustration entering the picture which hindered making up the difference from another type of source--individual donations from the exceptionally wealthy. He said:

> A person profoundly stirred by some event on the field, such as the appeal of an entire village in India or the martyrdom of a missionary in China, offers a liberal donation for a new work. What is the attitude of the board in such a case? Do we

> leap to the opportunity, thank God for the prompting of the gift and undertake at once the task as divinely bestowed? Nothing of the kind. The first inquiry is "Can we afford to take this money?" It may require other gifts in the future which will not be forthcoming, and our experience teaches us that it is unwise to trust the churches in such matters.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

That placed a major point in the open. The churches could not be trusted to carry the financial responsibility for the Board's work; other sources, it appeared obvious to Patton, needed to be discovered; but the threatened questioning those other sources (i.e., "a person profoundly stirred") had to face was bound to keep them from repeating their gifts. It was certainly an inopportune time to introduce such a prerequisite.

So it was. Goodsell, the latest historian to review the Board's work, says that the meeting of 1905 came during a time when the Board's work was being carried on "under prevailing difficult economic conditions."[2] The Congregationalist Handbook for 1904 stated that it was a time of "a marked falling off in the amount of legacies," and the whole church was operating in the face of "reduced appropriations."[3] Strong, an earlier writer on the Board's achievements, states that in the midst of these hard times for the Board's work "a controversy was precipitated that for a time added to the burden."[1]

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[1] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 16, 1905.

[2] Goodsell, You Shall Be My Witnesses, p. 218.

[3] The Congregationalist Handbook for 1904 (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1903).

Why the churches were not carrying a larger share of the work is not known. As noted earlier in this study, denominational per capita giving statistics placed Congregationalists well up in Protestant ranks. Perhaps it was, as Patton pointed out in his speech, simply that the churches were holding steady in their giving, not increasing year by year, while the missionary work and its needs were always expanding.

Gladden could not account for the failure to keep pace either. But he was sure that it would be a mistake to not place the burden upon the churches of the denomination. And he was not entirely without a kind of support in this view. One correspondent, a fellow pastor, had written to Gladden saying that his belief was "that in the long run, the Board will lose much more than $100,000.00 through the alienation of many of its regular supporters."[2] Charles Reynolds Brown, Gladden's supporter in absentia, had stated that it would be a serious mistake to turn to sources of wealth outside the membership of the churches in the face of the financial problem which existed. This, he thought, would seriously endanger the already weak support of the missionary work. The churches and their members simply had to become aware of their own obligations, and assume the proper share of the burden.[1]

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[1] Strong, The Story of the American Board, p. 488.

[2] John De Pen to Gladden, March 20, 1905.

At any rate, Gladden hastened to inform his audience that he was personally certain that their officers were men of competence and that they had done all that was possible to make the need clear to the churches. If the churches did not respond, it was not the officers' fault. If there was fault, it was to be laid to the churchmen who were pastors and laymen directly active in the local churches. Something needed to be done there. He was saying, "It is not your fault, it is our fault that you have been pushed into seeking aid elsewhere." But to advise seeking elsewhere was *a counsel of cowardice and infidelity*.

U. Gladden's declaration of confidence in the churches' support:

> *When I say "with us," whom do I include? I include the great majority of Congregational pastors, and the leading laymen of the churches. I include myself. I am as much to blame as anybody. I have done a little, but not much; and I take to myself shame and confusion of face because of it. We ought to make all this philanthropic and missionary work a great deal more central and prominent than it has ever been in the life of our churches. We ought to develop the missionary resources of our churches, and of our local conferences as they have never been developed. We ought to do it, and we can do it. We can go before the people of our churches and say to them: "This work of bringing Christ to the world is our work, and we must do it. The good fight is our fight and we can win it. We are not going down to Egypt after chariots and horses, we will*

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[1] Cited in The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 3, 1905.

> *fight it ourselves. We do not need to discuss tainted money, it is enough to say that we need none of it, for we know where there is plenty of good honest money for all this work. It is the Lord's money, and he shall have what he calls for."*
>
> *When we face the problem in this way we shall soon find ourselves far beyond the need of discussing the question that has occupied our thoughts today.*

Gladden's willingness to take upon himself some measure of *shame and confusion of face* may have been more than poetic. As a matter of fact, in the year 1904 his church gave less than $300.00 to the work of foreign missions.[1]

However, his plea in this section of his speech, and in the one preceding it, made it clear that he foresaw that dependence upon the individual contributor in the long run would provide the greatest resources. In the most recent issue of "Giving USA: A Compilation of Facts Related to American Philanthropy," published by the American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel, Inc., it is pointed out that "the individual citizen is the greatest single source of philanthropy in this nation."[2] The fact is that it is the many, many gifts of relatively small amounts which total far more than those from any other sources. According to the latest statistics available, total contributions by individuals exceed those of foundations (the latter-day counterparts of the big givers of Gladden's day), bequests, business firms, and corporations, by a ratio of 5 to 1.[1]

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[1] Dorn, op. cit., p. 329.

[2] Giving USA: A Compilation of Facts Related to American Philanthropy (New York: The American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel, Inc., 1967), p. 11.

In the writer's view, it is a shortcoming in the speech that this, which might have been the most telling point to make for his businessmen's audience (it is certainly the most telling one the present-day fund raisers direct toward their businessmen readers), was not made with greater strength here or elsewhere. If plans for appeal could have been offered out of his broad background of public contact; if he could have led them through the logic of it; if more facts could have been presented about individual giving habits and how the churches could have capitalized upon them; and, perhaps better still, if he could have cited his own church's record with pride, how much more compelling would his appealing peroration have been.

V. Arguments offered for and against acceptance; Gladden's peroration and conclusion:

> *Brethren I have said my word, and I call you to witness that it has been spoken, not in anger or bitterness, but soberly and kindly. I have indulged in no personalities, I have aspersed no man's motives. I have been constrained to speak very plainly, for the juncture is a serious one; there are principles at issue which cannot be trifled with, there are interests at stake which ought not to be sacrificed.*

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[1] Ibid., p. 13.

> *Some of you have been kind enough to assure me that I am in a very insignificant minority. That may be; I do not know about that; I leave that to be decided by you. It will not be the first time that I have been in a very small minority, even in this Board; but I have seen such small minorities, in a very few years, grow to overwhelming majorities. "The safe appeal of truth to time," is one on which I have learned to rest with hope, and I therefore commit with confidence what I have said, to you, and to the people of the Congregational churches, and to the kindly judgment of all honorable men.*

No doubt many members of his audience had taken it upon themselves to advise Gladden that he was in the minority. As we have seen, he was well aware that he was in an uphill fight. There were probably those who spoke from their positions on the Board directly to him. But there were several of prominence who had taken it upon themselves to oppose Gladden from a position of eminence. A close look at three of them together constitutes an interesting study of the abivalence and labyrinthian processes of rationalization which the discussion called forth.

The distinguished editor of the Outlook, Lyman Abbott, wrote to Gladden, a very few days before the meeting, saying that he was "sorry not to be with you on this issue." Then he went on:

> I hold, and The Outlook has repeatedly affirmed, that the principle which should govern us in dealing with this general subject is that, whenever a man is doing an act which on its face is right, we are to give him our aid an [sic] encouragement, however bad his action may have been in the past; and, whenever he is doing an act which on its face is bad, we are to discourage and oppose him, however good his

actions may have been in the past.[1] "If I were able to be at Seattle this fall," he told Gladden, "I should argue against the proposition embodied in your resolution, . . ."[2]

Brown, Abbott's latest biographer, accuses him of contradicting a previously stated position against accumulating wealth by devious means, and quotes Upton Sinclair who accused Abbott of casuistry in the matter.[3]

Another religious leader of the day who let Gladden know personally that he was against him in the fight was Charles E. Jefferson, minister of the prestigious Broadway Tabernacle. Jefferson was so certain of his own ground that he used two letters and a total of seven single-spaced typed pages to tell him about it. The first letter Jefferson wrote was, as he said, to keep Gladden from hearing only from those who approved of his position; this would protect him from being "misled as to the sentiment of the great masses of the people."[4] He had collected some opinions on the subject and included them in his parish paper, a copy of which was enclosed. As

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[1] Lyman Abbott to Gladden, September 11, 1905.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ira V. Brown, Lyman Abbott, Christian Evolutionist (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953), pp. 181-182.

[4] Charles E. Jefferson to Gladden, May 16, 1905.

Gladden was to see, we may suppose, the opinions were to the effect that is was preposterous to question the integrity of the industry headquartered in the Rockefeller Building just down the street from Jefferson's church. In a rather uncomplimentary close, Jefferson wrote:

> There are a lot of us, both ministers and laymen who think that our Homer is for once nodding, but it is needless to assure you that his nodding does not abate our love for him one iota.[1]

The next letter Gladden received from Jefferson was designed to advise him of several "slips in logic." The first slip in "logic" was that it was "not wise for a minister of the gospel ever to deal in personalities."[2] Along with that he offered:

> Whenever a preacher is obliged to ransack libraries in order to get material with which to bolster up his positions all the time running the risk of being caught in some ignorance or misinterpretation of important facts, he is in my judgment out of his sphere, and brings upon himself all sorts of tribulations which might easily have been escaped.[3]

The second "slip" was described thusly:

> In a world like this things cannot be hit off in such an easy straightforward way as you suggest. Nobody supposes that you are a reckless and gullible retailer of false accusations. The accusations which you have made have been made repeatedly, and by writers of ability and information. You have simply voiced the general accusation of our time against Mr. Rockefeller. So long as the accusation was brought by Tom, Dick, and Harry Mr. Rockefeller paid

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Charles S. Jefferson to Gladden, June 29, 1905.

[3] Ibid.

> no attention to it, but when you, a Christian man in high position, took up the charge he has asked his lawyers to give the world his interpretation of the facts. And so it seems to me it has been a good thing to give Mr. Rockefeller a chance to tell the world how the whole business seems from his standpoint.[1]

The third "slip" that Gladden had made was in "arraigning a single man when you ought to be arraigning the entire competitive system as it is conducted by the men of our generation."[2] After all, Jefferson pointed out, Rockefeller had only done what "a hundred thousand" other men had done "up to the measure of their ability and opportunity." If Gladden had chosen to lash out against the many in general, instead of this one in particular, he would have had a "united church" behind him, "whereas," Jefferson said, "you have at present only a fragment of your own church in Columbus at your back, and a still smaller fragment of the church of God in the United States."[3] Thus ran Jefferson's correspondence with Gladden on the matter. The Broadway preacher was probably most correct when he wrote:

> Logic is a very funny thing as you know, and the funny thing about it is that we can see holes in the other man's logic but are blind to the holes in the logic of our own.[4]

Abbott and Jefferson were not the only ones to let Gladden know that they opposed him. Graham Taylor, well-known social commenter, professor, and director of a special benevolent work known as Chicago Commons, had come out early against Gladden's position. He wrote:

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

> I do not approve of the protest. The same objection offered in this case would hold true as far as a great many other donations are concerned. The pedigree of the dollar might be found unsatisfactory in many other lines of money making. Personally I feel it is proper to use the power of such money for good.[1]

In his autobiography, Taylor says that he had tried to trace through the sources of gifts to his own work in Chicago, but "the trail of the serpent" was over so much of it that when the controversy arose he was led to "offset" Gladden's protest against the acceptance of the Rockefeller gift. Recalling the incident, he reported that he felt so strongly about the matter that he wrote an article under the title, "Shall the Pedigree of the Dollar Destroy Its Destiny?"[2] The gist of the article was, so Taylor reports, that without condoning the dubious methods which might have been involved in the acquisition of the dollar, or recognizing any obligation to its donor, it might be better to "divert even the tainted dollar to a good purpose than to ignore the fact that it surely had some destiny to fulfill."[3]

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[1] Graham Taylor, "Editorial of Personal Opinions," Congregationalist, XC (April 1, 1905), p. 425.

[2] Graham Taylor, Pioneering on Social Frontiers (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930), p. 422.

[3] Ibid.

It is interesting to note that Taylor reports that he was taken to task by several for the position he had expressed on the issue. But perhaps most interesting of all is the fact that Gladden had received a letter from Taylor dated January 4, 1905 in which the latter invited the Moderator to "rejoice with us" over the fact that the Chicago Commons work, and Hull House together had recently received a combined total of $40,000.00 as a donation of "clean money."[1] Whether the phrase was used as a sop to Gladden, or as a means for conveying the impression that Taylor shared his views, it cannot be said.

So far as is known, Gladden never reacted to the letter, but he did react publicly to the article. He referred to it in the very last paragraph of his report to his congregation. He said:

> There is an article in a late Congregationalist by one whom I greatly honor but from whose views in this matter, I utterly dissent. It is entitled, "Shall the dollar's pedigree defeat its destiny?" There is no time now to answer the argument; but to the question my very prompt answer is that I know very little and care very little about the destiny of dollars. I am not sent to save them; I don't even care whether they are to have a second probation or not; I hope and trust that they will not. It is men that I am trying to save; and more of them are lost, in these days, I think, by the way they deal with dollars than in any other way. And the bottom question of this whole discussion is simply this, which will the Christian Church care for most--the destiny of dollars or the destiny of men?[2]

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[1] Graham Taylor to Gladden, January 4, 1905.

[2] Gladden, "A Long Journey and a Lively Debate."

That, however, was to come later. At Seattle Gladden chose to remind his listeners gently that he well knew that he was in *a very small minority,* but he would also remind them, perhaps referring to the doctrinal controversy that had raged years before, that such small minorities sometimes gained strength and with that they also gained their way. Then he chose to finally rest his case where he had always rested it, with *the kindly judgment of all honorable men.*

CHAPTER VII

THE "DEBATE" FOLLOWING THE SPEECH

A contribution which this study makes to the body of materials associated with the incidents surrounding Gladden's Seattle speech is the record of the discussion which followed the presentation of his resolution and supporting speech. The record appears in only one place, the columns of one of the Seattle papers.[1] The style of the report, the language and sentence structure, impress the writer that the report is a true one. Its length also seems to indicate an attempt was made to report all that followed as a debate.

The possible values which lie in the record of such a discussion are at least three in number: (1) The questions and comments advanced by the discussants may offer insights into the attitudes and opinions held by the listeners, thereby tending to reveal whether or not the speaker had correctly analyzed the situation and properly designed a speech to meet it; (2) the record of the discussion may reveal the impact of the speech upon the thinking of the audience. This may come out in a straightforward way as an audience member simply states that his mind has been changed; or it may come out in the quantity of comments which seems to go one way or the other, either as expected or hoped for, or not. The intensity of the comments may also indicate a shift in some range of magnitude, for or against; (3) some new aspect of the subject at hand may be raised or some new argument may emerge, either in terms of a question asked or an answer given. In many ways, the record may be a critique of the speech itself.

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[1] See Appendix.

It is, of course, rare that such records are available outside the halls of government and for many of the same reasons that speech scholars have studied those records in that context,[1] it is fitting that cognizance be taken of the record available as it bears upon the incident at hand.

Should the record be termed one of debate or one of discussion? On balance, taken from the introduction of the resolution through the vote taken, this entire communications sequence should most properly be termed a debate rather than a discussion. Following Baird and Knower, we see that in a debate the argument is conducted according to parliamentary rules, so that both sides are guaranteed equal protection and opportunity. That holds for our situation, as President Capen was presiding and reminding the Board members at several places of the expectation of form and order. There is also some semblance of the debate form in that the "affirmative," in this case Gladden, did open the interchange. However, the affirmative's usual formal closing was lost in the give-and-take of the moment, and the "negative's" "rebuttal" never became formalized in any significant way. And, of course, all time considerations were inappropriate for the occasion. But the fact of the matter was that the subject at hand was introduced in resolution form, and at the conclusion a vote was taken on the "merits of the question."[1] Perhaps most significant for determining that this sequence is best termed a debate is the description Baird and Knower offer of the one who takes part in a debate. They say that in debate, the debater or arguer, "before he faces the audience, has already analyzed the subject, framed his arguments, and made up his mind. He sets out to influence others to accept his proposition."[2] Gladden most certainly fits this description.

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[1] For example, see Ralph A. Micken, "The Triumph of Strategy in the Senate Debate on the League of Nations," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXXVII (February, 1951), pp. 49-53; Bruce Markgief, "The Parliamentary Debate in Action," Speech Teacher, XII (September, 1963), pp. 219-222; Charles D. Smith, "Debate in the House of Commons," Today's Speech, V (April, 1957), pp. 21-23.

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[1] A. Craig Baird and Franklin H. Knower, General Speech: An Introduction (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1963), p. 276.

[2] Ibid., p. 298.

It seems to the writer that it would not be correct, on the basis of the record, to call what followed Gladden's speech a discussion. Again following Baird and Knower, discussion has the following characteristics:

> (1) Its purpose is to analyze and solve a problem; (2) the method is primarily that of a group activity; (3) it evokes reflective thinking rather than casual emotional reactions; (4) it is deliberative rather than advocative; and (5) it is usually oral communication.[1]

Although a reasonable objectivity would no doubt have to be granted the participants, it is going too far, this writer believes, to characterize this group's activities as "problem solving," "reflective," or "deliberative." There was too much at stake, the emotions were running too high, the commitments were too deeply imbedded to allow this sequence to take on the character of discussion.

That the record is a fair representation of what actually occurred during the course of the interchange is borne out by the fact that in the report are such parenthetical notes as "(Applause.)", and "(Applause and laughter.)". The style of the interchange reported also signifies a measure of spontaniety. A short passage may serve as an illustration of immediate contention:

> Mr. Twitchell--Suppose a gathering like this was to appeal to every one for contributions and donations for the work in North China and a rum seller present was seized in his heart to give a half million dollars to the work. Would the

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[1] *Ibid*.

> contribution, according to the meaning of the resolution, be one solicited by the board?
>
> Mr. Gladden--No, sir.
>
> Mr. Twitchell--Oh, I would say in the meaning of the minority report.
>
> Mr. Gladden--No, sir.
>
> Mr. Twitchell--Does that suit you much better?
>
> Mr. Perry--It suits me. [sic]
>
> Mr. Gladden--The appeal made to popular audiences is not what I am talking about at all.
>
> Mr. Sheldon--I would like to ask Dr. Gladden a question. What would you have Mr. Rockefeller do with his money?
>
> Mr. Gladden--I don't propose to talk about Mr. Rockefeller at all.

That we have the complete record of the debate in hand is questionable. It does not seem to this writer that the record of a debate which ran for "two hours" according to a newspaper report,[1] and for "an hour or two" according to Gladden's report,[2] could have been contained in the space of 14 double-space pages. On the other hand, this is a substantial sample, if not the entire text, and the style of it reflects spontaneous discourse. Furthermore, the interjections from the chairman, President Capen, signify that the interchange was overseen as the debate of a motion on the floor would have been.

The debate was conducted in conflicting atmospheres. One was supplied by the chairman. The news report has it:

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[1] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 16, 1905.

[2] Gladden, "A Long Journey and a Lively Debate." In another place in the same sermon he says, "...it was debated...for two or three hours,--I do not know just how long."

> Prior to the opening of the debate, President Capen made a fervid appeal for moderation of utterance, a Christianlike tolerance of opposing views, ending by cautioning those who were about to declare themselves on a subject which had wrought many to the pitch of fever heat that any words uttered injudiciously might rise to confront not only the individual, but the board itself, in future years.[1]

And those who were to debate apparently took heed to this counsel. Gladden later reported that "the temper of the debate was perfect; not a bitter or unbrotherly word was spoken."[2]

However, another kind of atmosphere was provided by the members of the public audience who had come to observe. One news report says that throughout Gladden's speech, and through the debate which followed, "it was apparent that his attitude had made a lasting impression upon his auditors, and at times the applause was both spontaneous and unrestrained."[3] Another report put it even more strongly: "He was cheered to the echo, and time after time his colleagues were interrupted in their discourse by uncontrolled applause."[4] Gladden was more restrained in his comments upon the onlookers' behavior, saying simply, "That crowded, eager audience of Congregational Church members was strongly on the side of the short resolution."[1]

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[1] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 16, 1905.

[2] Gladden, "A Long Journey..."

[3] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 16, 1905.

[4] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 17, 1905.

The debate offered insights into the attitudes and opinions held by the audience. A comment by a Mr. Lowry confirmed that there was intense feeling about the significance of the Board's work. He said:

> I do not know that any one will agree with me with respect to it or look at the matter from a different point of view. I take it as the higher point of view and I would like to offer in a few words of my testimony [sic]. I hope that the American Board in common with all other benevolent and philanthropic institutions is a divinely ordained agency.

Dr. Moxom's comments revealed that there was some feeling in support of Gladden. He said:

> The beauty of the resolution as it is given by Dr. Gladden is its absolute simplicity, its directness, its enunciation of the statement of the principles in which we all believe; no man I am sure can look at that statement in the face without the immediate answer of his conscience.

A Mr. Sheldon's question revealed that Rockefeller was the real center of discussion for some:

> I would like to ask Dr. Gladden a question. What would you have Mr. Rockefeller do with his money?

A "Mr. Demning's" [sic] [2] question showed that some anxiety might have existed over the way in which the gift that had precipated the discussion was obtained. In the midst of a discussion of whether a rich man could or should give he asked:

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[1] Gladden, "A Long Journey..."

[2] The minutes of the meeting show that the following made remarks during the "debate," in addition to Gladden: "Rev. I. W. Metcalf, Pres. S. B. T. Pemose, Rev. H. M. Tenney, Mr. John H. Perry, Rev. P. S. Moxom, Rev. A. E. Dunning, Rev. Joseph H. Twitchell, Rev. W. W. Jordon, Rev. George C. Adams, Rev. E. G. Updike, Rev. J. R. Thurston, Mr. E. H. Pitkin, and Rev. J. W. Bradshaw." The writer assumes that "Mr. Demning" was actually A. E. Dunning, editor of the Congregationalist.

> Ought he to be solicited to give it secretly?

A Mr. Thurston let it be known that the Statement of Principles had gained adherents, and that the discussion in their support had not missed its mark. He said:

> As to the question of tying our hands in the future, it is expressly stated in one of the principles enunciated that we do not close our mouths to denounce anything which we believe wrong, but let us remember the difference between denouncing an act, and denouncing a man, and we must be sure that we understand what the act is.

A Mr. Pitkin showed that there was an awareness of who Gladden was, and that his (Gladden's) opinion carried some value:

> I have known and respected Mr. Gladden--I won't say I know him. I have known of him, but I never have had the pleasure of knowing him personally. I wrote him once when we were trying to pull him away from another congregation. The question is was that reprehensible? (Laughter and applause.) Now I wrote to Dr. Gladden and said: "What kind of man is this man?" Well, he says, "He is a good man, but I give you warning right now I shall do everything I can to keep you from getting him." Now it might have been reprehensible on Dr. Gladden's part to have taken that attitude. I don't know. At all events we got him.
> (Laughter and applause.)

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Annual Report, 1905, p. x. "Mr. Demning" was no doubt a mis-identification of Rev. A. E. Dunning, Gladden's editor friend from the Congregationalist.

Mr. Pitkin seemed to reveal that several other considerations were in the minds of at least some of those present. He revealed that pride in the work of the Board existed as well as a feeling that its lack of funds was a threat to its existence:

> The American Board after nearly a hundred years of glorious history is today suffering for the want of money.
>
> . . . .
>
> ...we need--the great need--today is more money for good things.
>
> . . . .
>
> Let us put aside this question and turn our attention to getting more money in the American Board.

He also revealed the business man's ambivalence over contemporary commercial practices. He said:

> Now, I know, as a business man, I have done things--lots of things--that I could not walk up to St. Peter and justify (Applause.) What business man is there in this room that has not done it? That is what I would like to know.

The debate also revealed something of the impact of Gladden's address. Perhaps they were among the few supporters he had at the beginning, but two men avowed readiness, even if not whole-hearted, to accept Gladden's motion. A Rev. Bradshaw said:

> I imagine that if this minority report which is now before us was presented for consideration without anything else under consideration, that there is not a corporate brother here who would hesitate for a moment in saying, "Why, certainly, that is what we want."

Less enthusiastically, a Mr. Metcalf wondered if it would be possible to incorporate Gladden's resolution with the principles stated. Mr. Twitchell did not catch Gladden's point that Rockefeller as a particular personality was not to be discussed. Mr. Sheldon did not comprehend that Gladden did not wish to advise rich men what to do with their money. But Mr. Pitkin got one of the points. Addressing himself to "Mr. Gladden" he said, "I think you hit the nail on the head--you say you are to blame and the rest of us are to blame because more money has not come into the coffers of the American Board."

Finally, the debate revealed some new aspects and emphases of the argument. A "voice from the audience" asked:

> Who is to determine whether these moneys are acquired by means socially injurious or morally reprehensible--who is to determine that [sic]. The matter seems to be left entirely in the air. We can heartily agree, I think, with the minority report, but it seems to me useless unless we can tell who is to determine the question.

This was perhaps straining, but Gladden did not specify who was to do the judging. It might be assumed that he intended that the Board and its Committee should. And that is what he answered: "I will say those who solicit them." But these businessmen might have required a more concrete directive.

As to how far the Board or its agents should be trusted, there was clarification made. "Mr. Demning" [sic] asked:

> I would ask Dr. Gladden this question, if the resolution is passed as it is now before the house the Prudential Committee is entirely unadvised as to who the judgment is with. Therefore, whoever is solicited after this resolution is passed by the American Board in its work must not have been morally reprehensible or socially injurious. Is that what Dr. Gladden desires the committee to do?

Gladden responded:

> I think it is exactly, that in the judgment of this committee those men's methods are not morally reprehensible or socially injurious.

One new aspect of the controversy was raised at this time by Rev. Moxom who said:

> The only argument that has been presented against the resolution is that it will be used as a club by the enemies of the board. We shall want a Diogenes with a good deal better lantern than he had to find an enemy of the board. If we have a searchlight, I don't know where he would find one. [sic] There are none in New England. I have heard of none out here and did not see a trace of any crossing the mountains.

That was a new line, and, in the writer's judgment, a valuable one for the businessmen at hand.

The debate came to an end when President Penrose stated that he saw the minority report as being "very ambiguous," and "liable to commit us to very grave misunderstandings." He went on:

> Because, therefore, I desire that this meeting of the American Board may devote itself to the putting forward of the missionary cause to the people of the Pacific coast, and because I think this matter under discussion is no longer profitable, I move that this whole matter be laid upon the table.

Whereupon the President picked it up:

> Under our rules that motion is not subject to debate. Remember what you are doing, and that only

> the corporate members now can vote. All in favor of laying this upon the table will say aye; all opposed no. (At this juncture a rising vote was taken.) It seems to be a vote, but the chair is in doubt. Will those who wish to have it laid upon the table stand until they can be counted? The clerk will count the votes. The vote is 46 to lay it upon the table and 10 opposed, which disposes of the question under our rules.[1]

The news report of the meeting described the scene immediately after the vote was taken:

> After the vote was taken that finally disposed of the matter, and even while the ten who voted against the motion to table the resolutions were standing, applause broke out, and Dr. Gladden, who left the platform at the close of the debate, was overwhelmed with congratulations on his address and the position taken by him. He held an informal reception in one of the committee rooms, and for a few minutes the routine of the afternoon session was interrupted.[2]

In summary, the debate following Gladden's speech was conducted in a spirit of good will among the Board members while onlookers cheered, obviously in favor of the underdog. Comments and questions raised revealed some of the basic attitudes of the audience which might have been anticipated. Some attitude and opinion shift was noticeable in the comments. A few matters were clarified, and one point new to the controversy was raised. On balance, the debate seems to have done three things:

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[1] Dunning reported that "four of the ten would have voted for the principles put forth by the Prudential Committee, but opposed tabling the matter." Congregationalist, XC (September 23, 1905), p. 410.

[2] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 16, 1905.

(1) It gave the members of the opposition a chance to review the matter and reassure themselves of the solidity of the arguments which they had been using in support of their own position; (2) it served as a courtesy device wherein the venerable Moderator was given due process; (3) it gave the members opportunity to sift through the possible courses of action open to them and select the alternative of tabling Gladden's motion. Gladden himself did not use the opportunity to further his argument, perhaps impressing some that he was sincerely willing to leave the decision up to the Board as he had said.

CHAPTER VIII

GLADDEN'S USE OF PERSUASIVE MATERIALS

It is clear that the entire effort of Gladden was devoted to the end of inducing his audience to take an action favorable to the point-of-view he expressed. In the language of the professional speech communications scholar, he was attempting to move with his audience through a "persuasive process." The primary evidence for this is, of course, the presence of a resolution which he himself had introduced and upon which he had moved a favorable action. It may be assumed that everything else Gladden presented before, during, and in the debate which followed the speech was intended to motivate his hearers toward his own position. It is this kind of situation which the speech communication scholar is most interested in; it is the one his discipline's tools best fit him to discuss. In fact, as Cathcart states, it is only when the scholar-critic approaches speech as a persuasive process that he makes a contribution to an understanding of communication that cannot be made by the biographer, man of letters, or historian.[1]

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[1] Robert S. Cathcart, Post-Communication: Critical Analysis and Evaluation (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1966), p. 16.

A. Definition of Terms:

By the term persuasion this writer intends to convey what Hance, Ralph and Wiksell have in mind when they define the term "advocacy" as "an attempt to change the attitude and action of a group or individual or to deepen and strengthen an attitude already present."[1] As they say, advocacy (a term that they use synonymously with persuasion) has as its "prime" purpose "persuading the listener to change his opinion, his attitude, and to take action in accordance with his new view."[2] This definition is most acceptable to this writer and should be kept in mind when the terms advocacy or persuasion appear in the discussion following.

Another definition having significance for this writer is that set forth by Eisenson, Auer and Irwin, saying that "persuasion in public address is defined as the process of securing acceptance of an idea, or an action by connecting it favorably with the listener's attitudes, beliefs, and desires."[3] (Italics, the writer's.) This, for the writer, is a functional definition; it tells how the persuading is done in terms of human behavior, as the speaker faces the task of capitalizing on the motivations and predispositions that exist within the audience. It is the speaker's job to discover what means there are at his disposal for affecting a connection between what he says and his audience in such a way that they will be disposed to act in accord with his wishes. That is central to the persuasion process.

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[1] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, op. cit., p. 234.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Eisenson, Auer, and Irwin, op. cit., p. 293.

Reid says that there are three basic ways of persuading a listener. He says of the speaker that:

> He may persuade through logical argument: reasons, examples, testimony of authorities, analogy. He may persuade through appeals to the emotions of his listeners: their affections, fears, hopes, loyalties, duties. He may persuade through the force of his personal character: his sincerity, his integrity, his sense of judgment, his fairness and unselfishness.[1]

It is in terms of those three general modes of persuasion that we propose now to discuss Gladden's speech. We will attempt to determine whether or not Gladden discovered all the possible means of persuasion in the subject and also whether or not he made the most appropriate choices among them for this particular speech. That, says Cathcart, is the critic's function.[2]

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[1] Loren Reid, First Principles of Public Speaking (Columbia, Missouri: Artcraft Press, 1960), p. 208.

[2] Cathcart, op. cit., p. 11.

B. Gladden's Use of Materials of Development:

Speakers use certain materials to give concrete development and support to the point they wish to have understood and acted upon. Hance, Ralph and Wiksell have simply termed these "materials of development" and they have supplied us with a classification of them.[1]

Some of the materials of development are found and used by the speaker. Broadly, these include examples, narratives and stories, statistics, and quotations.[2] Also, some of the materials of development are created by the speaker. Again broadly, these include various ways in which one handles the substance of his speech, thus creating something new by such means as repetition, restatement, comparison, and contrast.[3] Another useful category set up by Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell under the general heading of materials of development is that of "materials and procedures of reasoning and the argumentative process."[4] The nature, sources, and uses of evidence are included under this heading; evidence being defined as "facts and opinions used as the basis of reasoning."[1] Reasoning, defined as; "the process of inferring conclusions from evidence or from other conclusions,"[2] is discussed by these same authors in terms of the nature of reasoning, types and tests of reasoning, and the structure of reasoning.[3] Their framework will serve as a convenient guide for discussing Gladden's usage of materials of development.

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[1] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, op. cit., pp. 52-67.

[2] Ibid., pp. 52-56

[3] Ibid., pp. 56-59.

[4] Ibid., p. 59.

As a reference aid to the reader, headings and sub-headings will be indicated by using italics, **indentations**, and capitalization.

1. Materials found and used by the speaker:

a. EXAMPLES: Examples are defined as instances and illustrations used to support, clarify, or lend interest to a point the speaker wants to make.[4]

Instances: Instances are, according to our authors, "allusions or references to specific cases; they are not fully developed descriptions, and do not include the details of the case."[5]

In his Seattle speech Gladden made much more use of the instance in its allusion form than in its illustration form. He never expanded his references into a discussion of pertinent details as is characteristic of the illustration form. He most frequently used an allusionary phrase or question and then expanded upon the assumed implications of it in a somewhat didactic fashion. In practically every case he appears to presume a great deal upon the knowledge his listeners have of the incident upon which his phrase or question is based. A few quotations from his speech may show this:

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 61-65.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[5] *Ibid.*

"If $100,000 is offered a church the first question to be decided is this: Of what is this money the pledge and token?" The exact figure is obviously an allusion to the gift to the Board. It is an instance. From this he goes on to show that if it represents hard work, it is acceptable. If it represents a "dishonest career," it is to be rejected. But the dollar figure itself is to conjure up the known record of the giver's interests and provide a springboard for Gladden's lesson.

A paragraph begins: "These colossal gains have, in all cases, been made by practices which are glaringly unjust and iniquitous." Then there follows a veritable chain of allusionary phrases, each one recalling a separate specific case or charge lodged by someone somewhere against the donor's interests:

> By obtaining control of the public highways and levying tribute on the traffic of competitors, and taxing the necessaries of life for the millions; by corruptly controlling legislatures and city councils and thus

> obtaining franchises and contracts, by which they are able to extort from the people exorbitant compensation for public service rendered; by enormous inflations of capital, and the dishonest manipulation of the stock and grain markets and by the exploitation of trust funds for private gain, these great accumulations have been made.

Of men who stand behind such practices, he says, "They may be courteous and cultivated gentlemen, estimable husbands and fathers and constant attendants upon church and prayer meetings. . . ." Thus he alludes to the oil king whose home life was a model of straight-laced puritanism.

Still another use of instance is illustrated in this passage:

> The quality and the cause of tainted money have been well enough known to the saints of all ages. Even when medieval bandits were acquiring merit by gifts to monastaries, the voice of the church was clear in condemnation.

Only once does he cite a name in association with an instance and that is the notorious Mrs. Cassie Chadwick's.

b. NARRATIVES AND STORIES: These, according to Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, consist of "a set of real or fictional details usually arranged in chronological order and used for clarifying or proving a point." Its climactic order differentiates it from the example.[1]

Gladden's one striking use of this form is in the passage wherein two sources of missionary contributions are contrasted. One is a wholesome source:

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

> Here is a Congregational church on the prairies of Kansas, which has become deeply and enthusiastically enlisted in the work of foreign missions. It has established classes and circles for mission study; it has organized methods of collecting funds among its men, its women and its children; it keeps in closest touch with all the work on the mission field; the spirit of prayer for missions permeates all its assemblies. Finally it adopts a mission school, somewhere in Turkey, and by the most heroic and self-denying efforts it sends a gift of five hundred dollars for the support of that school.

The other source is foul:

> Now let us suppose that, one year later, some gambler or keeper of a house of prostitution, moved by motives which we will not explore, sends, with some publicity, to the same mission band, the same amount of money; . . .

This is the extent of Gladden's use of the narrative or story form in his Seattle speech.

c. STATISTICS: Statistics are defined by Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, as "sets of figures compiled to represent data concerning phenomena, trends, or activities or people."[1] The lone passage where this type of material appears is as follows:

> The gifts of the Congregational churches to missions are less now than they were ten years ago, though their numbers have considerably increased and their wealth has probably doubled. I think that one main cause of this is an increasing tendency to turn to the big givers.
>
> The Baptist churches, according to Dr. Josiah Strong, are giving forty percent less now than ten years ago, even counting the much heralded donations of their largest giver. Wise men in that church attribute that shrinkage to these big gifts.

Gladden did not use statistics to any great extent in his Seattle speech.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

d. QUOTATIONS: Quotations, defined by Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell as using "the words of someone else to illustrate, support, or expand a point,"[1] were much in evidence in Gladden's Seattle address. Either in terms of direct quotations, paraphrasing, or allusion to sources presumed familiar, he made a great deal of use of this type of material.

The literary materials from which he drew quotations included most conspicuously the Bible. He alluded to passages, nearly paraphrasing them, as in the section based upon Deuteronomy 23:18 where Gladden says:

> It has always been understood that the children of God must not be partakers of the rewards of iniquity. From the old day when the children of Israel were _forbidden to bring the hire of a harlot into the congregation of the Lord_, ...

He quoted the "Psalmist":

> "I hate robbery for burnt offerings," . . . .

He quoted directly from Isaiah 31:1:

> "Woe unto them that go down to Egypt for help and stay on horses and trust in chariots because they are many and in horsemen because they are very strong: but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord."

And he quoted directly from Isaiah 30:3:

> "Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion."

These and other allusions to and direct quotations from the Bible are common to the Seattle speech.

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[1] _Ibid_.

In at least one instance, Gladden also paraphrased a section from Hegel to the effect that "property . . . is an extension of the personality, ..."

In one instance Gladden drew upon what Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell term "testimony of fact," drawing upon the witness of another person concerning historical fact.[1] It was more an allusion than a quote, but the reference was clearly to Josiah Strong's testimony regarding the influence large donations from a particular source had had upon Baptist giving patterns.

Gladden also cited from: the "words of a veteran missionary," "President Tucker," "a manuscript in my possession," "a professor in one of our leading New England colleges," and the "words of a veteran missionary." In addition, he attempted to stimulate his hearers to recall what had been said by "ex-President, Mr. Cleveland," and "our president," "The early fathers," and "the voice of the church;" and alluded to the contents of "several communications, mostly anonymous," and to what "some of you" had conveyed.

Gladden made free use of quotations and his sources were, in the main, of a quality which should have borne them proper weight with his hearers.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

2. Materials created by the speaker:

Gladden's speaking artistry led him to the use of restatement, saying something that he had just said, but saying it differntly "in order to clarify the message, to expand it, to develop it in terms the listener may understand more clearly."[1] And he also used contrast, "pointing out differences between two or more persons, events, or things."[2]

a. RESTATEMENT:

Examples of restatement follow:

Statement:

> Offerings that are made without ostentation, before which no trumpets are blown, which expect no recognition, may be freely received, and no possible harm can be done.

Restatement:

> It is only gifts which require some public recognition of the giver, and which connect themselves with the giver, about which any question can be raised.

Statement:

> Of the glorious work it [the Board] has done, and it has done some of the best work this world has ever seen, we have had the credit. *Of the mistakes it has made, and it has made some woeful ones, we have had the blame*. (Italics, the writer's.)

Restatement:

> The honor and the strength of the Congregational churches is dear to us, and *when anything is done*

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

> in their name that offends our sense of honor the shame is ours. (Italics, the writer's.)

Statement:

> There are multitudes of them [rich men] who are governed by no such [evil] purposes.

Restatement:

> There are thousands and tens of thousands of men in large and active business whose methods are in the main honorable and fair.

Gladden made extended use of restatement in his Seattle speech.

b. CONTRAST:

Gladden also made limited, but effective use of contrast in his Seattle speech. In two passages which came quite close together in the speech he used this type of material. One passage we have already cited as it was cast in narrative form; it contrasted the way a missionary would feel about a gift from a small Kansas church with the way he would feel about a similar gift from a questionable source. The other notable passage utilizing contrast emerged within the context of an explanation of what to look for in a gift and its donor. Gladden put it:

> If it [the money] is the sign of hard work, if it tells a story of great energy and much patience, of pluck and endurance, if it means that the possessor of it has refused to be daunted, and has fought a good fight and that his muscles have endured the strain and his heart has not fainted, then it is a very worthy offering, and the man places in our hands a holy and a sacred thing, the very sacrament of his manhood. The offering of it is a credit to him, and the acceptance of it by the church is to be commended.

> If, on the other hand, the money is the outward and visible token of a dishonest career, if the thing it symbolizes is anything that decent men would not touch, if it betokens a life-disgraced by remorseless violence and plunder, if it has been wrung from the helpless, and snatched from the unsuspecting, if it is the shameless representation of a combination that crushes out smaller and less powerful combinations, a pirate upon the sea of industrial life, then the offer of that money is a covert sneer, and the acceptance of it stains the hands held out for it.

This passage is quoted from a "manuscript" in Gladden's possession, as he said, but it is so much like Gladden's own style that this writer suspects it is something that Gladden himself had written. At any rate, Gladden quotes it at length, with gusto, and with obvious approval. Probably the best that can be made of it is that Gladden did not make great use of contrast at Seattle, but he did effectively introduce the element into his speech.

c. THE RHETORICAL QUESTION:

The rhetorical question has been discussed in the speech literature under two general headings: (1) As a means for gaining and holding the attention of listeners; and (2) as a means for improving the language or phrasing of one's speech. Hance, Ralph and Wiksell look upon the rhetorical question mainly as an attention-getting and holding device. They say: "Rhetorical questions, which require no oral answers, are thought provoking."[1] And again, when beginning a speech, it is well to "level a barrage of facts or questions at the listener."[1] Such questions are important for the speaker who wishes to get his audience to think along with him. However, these authors do not discuss rhetorical questions as a part of their chapter on materials of development. They include such questions in their discussion of "learning and retention,"[2] part of a chapter on speaking to inform. And in their chapter on materials of experience.[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 227.

Reid says that a speaker who wants to improve his use of words might well consider putting "his ideas in the form of questions addressed to listeners."[4] Baird and Knower accentuate the stimulus that questions offer, but they do it in a chapter on effective language. They say:

> Questions help to keep listeners alert. Every speaker knows the value of asking questions--even if he allows no one except himself to answer them. Questions may be used to create suspense, stimulate the audience, and introduce a new aspect of the subject.[5]

Gladden certainly used questions to arouse attention at the very outset of his speech. Also, he used questions to maintain that interest throughout his speech. Whether or not he deliberately used them to enrich his language is not known. A consideration of all the questions

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[1] _Ibid._, p. 82.

[2] _Ibid._, pp. 223-227.

[3] _Ibid._, p. 82.

[4] Reid, _op. cit._, p. 196.

[5] Baird and Knower, _op. cit._, p. 143.

Gladden used will confirm that he used them to arouse and maintain interest. But the writer believes that Gladden used questions so often and so pointedly that they became something more than a device and moved into the category of effective materials of development. A review of the questions Gladden asked reveals the thrust if not the entire substance of his address. They are in order as follows:

> May I be indulged in a personal word? [His opening words.]
>
> "Why introduce into this assembly disturbing and divisive questions?" [He had been asked.]
>
> "Why not agree to this statement of principles without debate, and avoid all unpleasant discussion?"
>
> What did Jesus say about the poor widow's mite? . . . Would you have replied to him that one mite is just as good as another mite, and that since some of those rich men had cast in a thousand mites, their offerings must be worth a thousand times as much as theirs? Would you have argued that way with Him?
>
> Why not? [After statement that respectable women would not take an item from Mrs. Chadwick.]
>
> Is there no difference, to the missionaries, in those two gifts? Shall we say that since one man's dollar is as good as another man's, the five hundred dollars from the gambler's till will do just as much good on the mission field as the five hundred dollars of the praying, loving, consecrated church? [After contrasting the prairie church's gift with that of the gambler.]
>
> One man's dollar is as good as another man's dollar? No such thing as consecrated money? No such thing as tainted money?
>
> "Is there not something ethically wrong and spiritually degrading about accepting for our holy work money that has been made in the devil's way? Is there not a certain blasphemy in thinking that God's work will suffer unless we use such instruments for its advancement as are provided by the enemies of his Kingdom?"

> Suppose such a gift could suddenly assume the visible shape of that of which it is the representative, and by some kind of chemico-vital process become the thing it is the symbol of, and right there before the eyes of the recipient he could see, in panorama, the lies and the heartlessness, the competitive knife dripping with the blood of innocent victims, the despair of the man who has been crushed to the wall, and robbed of his living, the midnight scheming of the rogue, the thefts committed under the shadow by laws passed to prevent them,--suppose he could see all these foul shapes before him, a sight more hideous than any in the Inferno, think you he would dare accept that for God's work?
>
> Is not that spector visible, even now, in every part of this continent?
>
> What, now, should be the attitude of the church toward men who stand in this relation to the commonwealth?
>
> Will they [the Prudential Committee] say that they would feel entirely free to criticize the business methods of a donor whose gifts they have diligently solicited for the space of two years?
>
> We have our Congregational constituency, and how much more do we need? Are not the people of our churches able to support their own missionary organizations? These are vines of their own right hand's planting, they have watched and watered from the beginning; their heart's love is bound up in them; can we not trust them to see that they are nourished and carried from strength to strength and from glory to glory?
>
> When I say "with us," whom do I include? [In saying that the fault of the churches' lack of support lies with us.]

Thus it seems clear to this writer that Gladden made considerably more use of the question than merely a device to gain attention, or one to hold it. The question in his Seattle speech was used to advance the entire argument, almost by mainstrength, from phase to phase. It involved, it clarified, it challenged, it declared. Perhaps it revealed something of Gladden's self-image as a moral teacher. Perhaps it was something he had learned from the pedagogy of the day; maybe from his old tutor in rhetoric at Williams College, Mark Hopkins. The writer does not contend that any of the authors cited on questions and their use should reconsider their opinions, but it is certainly to be considered that the rhetorical question's use might have larger scope than generally acknowledged, at least if Gladden's example be noted.

3. Evidence and reasoning:

"Facts and opinions," state Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, "are the raw materials of reasoning."[1] Facts are "cases, statistics, and similar materials--phenomena that are observed, described, classified, and reported."[2] Opinions are "points of view--interpretations and evaluations of facts--held by persons other than the one doing the reasoning."[3] In substance, Gladden based his reasoning upon what he had come to accept as fact. But he also called upon a great amount of evidence that would have to be termed opinion.

Opinion is large in Gladden's Seattle speech. Some of it is personal opinion as in, "I think that a great deal of moral confusion has been caused by. . . .," "I believe that I am responsible for. . . .," "I think it conveys. . . .," "I think that a man may. . . . ." Furthermore, he rests some of his case upon the opinion of others. President Tucker, Josiah Strong, and unspecified "wise men," have their opinions cited. However, much of what is offered is Gladden's personal opinion, with the opinion of others cited infrequently.

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[1] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, op. cit., p. 59.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

Gladden used facts that were largely derived from his personal experiences and observations. He did cite the Principles set forth in the Prudential Committee's statement; and he cited Josiah Strong's statistics. Otherwise, he referred to what might have been termed common knowledge.

He reasoned from examples, referring, for example, to so-called malpractices of the Standard. That firm's conduct became the example of all that was wrong with monopolies. He reasoned from analogy, that is, he made a comparison between two cases that were similar in many respects, and inferred that they were similar in further respects.[1] For example, if the man behind the gun made a difference, so did the man behind the dollar, he said. Money could be tainted in the same way that it could be sanctified, by association with evil or good. The religious institutions of ancient and medieval times refused money ill-gained, they were in an analogous situation to contemporary religious institutions that also ought to refuse such money. Gladden also reasoned from cause; that is, he inferred that a certain phenomenon (a cause) had produced another phenomenon (an effect).[1] Gladden's rationale for introducing the issue at the meeting was based upon a cause and effect sequence. The Board's representatives had caused it by their own actions. If missionaries were to react badly or well to their reception of funds, it would likely be because they knew the source. If the Board accepted money from a questionable source (cause), they would disaffect working people (effect), erroneously indorse the business practices of the donor (effect), give poor guidance to businessmen who deserve better (effect), and discourage the churches from supporting the missionary work (effect). And he specifically pointed out the effects caused by "these giant combinations":

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[1] Ibid., p. 62.

> They have narrowed the bounds of individual initiative --that is industrial freedom, and have shut the gates of opportunity upon millions; . . . they have greatly intensified the strife of classes; . . . they have done more than all other causes put together to corrupt and debauch our governments, municipal, state and national.

Gladden clearly followed a strong cause-effect line of reasoning in his speech.

Another of Gladden's forms of reasoning in his Seattle speech was that of reasoning from sign. Hance, Ralph and Wiksell again define for us: "This kind of reasoning assumes that the presence of one thing (_an attribute_) indicates the presence of another (_the substance_), or that the absence of the one indicates the absence of the other."[1] Gladden took the fact that no gifts had been offered to the Board from questionable sources as a sign that none were likely to be. He took the fact that the Board had not gone to the likes of liquor sellers for money as a sign that they would not. The existence of giant aggregations of wealth were a sign that a special form of social injustice existed. The fact that the business methods of donors were never critcized was a sign that they probably would not be.

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[1] _Ibid._, p. 63.

On Gladden's use of materials of development we may conclude that he used many types of materials which came ready-made, but preferred the instance, and the quotation. He employed his materials creatively, making greatest usage of restatement and the rhetorical question. The substance of his evidence was in the form of both fact and opinion, but facts were not so well-cited, perhaps because Gladden assumed that his audience was aware of what was being reported about the events of the day. Gladden employed several types of reasoning, but most-used were reasoning from cause and reasoning from sign.

It should be clear, however, that the strength of Gladden's speech did not lie, nor was it intended to lie, in its logic or its evidences. Too much publicity had been given the speaker's views and the facts of the case at hand;

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[1] Ibid., p. 64.

too much had been said by too many to have expected many, if any, new considerations to be introduced. Logic (and rationalization) had run its course, now new elements of persuasion were needed, elements best employed in the speaker-audience situation.

C. Gladden's Use of Materials of Experience:

1. Definition of terms:

> The informant, the inquirer, or the entertainer may select and use speech material just because the material is a logical part of what he is talking about; the persuader, however, dares not stop his search until he finds materials that will make a psychological contribution toward altering human experience.[1]

Wilson and Arnold thus powerfully convey the significance of the kind of materials we wish to consider Gladden's use of in this section. What did he lay hold of to appeal to his listener's basic motives, their sensory experiences and memories of them, their needs, hopes, fears, and desires? The materials that function in this way Hance, Ralph and Wiksell term "materials of experience."[2]

2. General considerations:

In the consideration of Gladden's use of materials of experience we move into what may very well have been the strongest characteristic of his speech. He knew who these men were. He sensed that they were not only able men, materially and socially successful men, but that they were also informed men. They might safely be assumed to be fully informed upon the subject at hand and aware of the trends of the times. Against this background of informed intelligence the allusion and the figure of speech become acceptable devices. The members of his audience could hear, comprehend, and apply rapidly and precisely. The shade of meaning and the nuance would not be lost upon them.

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[1] John F. Wilson and Carroll C. Arnold, Public Speaking as a Liberal Art (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1966), p. 182.

[2] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, op. cit., p. 71.

Gladden was also aware, no doubt, that these men, for all their attainment, were still mere men. They were prone to grow lax in social, perhaps even in moral sensitivity. They had emotional ties and responsibilities of which they might need to be reminded. Furthermore, he was fully aware that by prior action these men had already taken a strong stand upon a position opposite to his own. They had already accepted what he had termed "tainted money;" accepted it, and issued a statement rationalizing their doing so. He knew it, and they knew he knew it.

The audience also knew something about Gladden. They knew that he was the outspoken social commentator whose clearly articulated statements, from pulpit and printed page, had brought the Board's action into the public eye in a most critical way, and, indeed, had precipitated the confrontation at hand. He had been the catalytic agent which had transformed the routine acceptance of a gift of money into a situation of climactic tension. They knew it, and he knew they knew it.

In view of these conditions, it was no time to bring an address couched in long, intensely logical and finely-drawn theological or philosophical terms. Both speaker and audience were aware, painfully aware, of the pros and cons of the issue at hand. They were opposed to his position, and he to theirs. As Hance, Ralph and Wiksell state, a speaker confronted with an audience of this type, a hostile audience, "should do his best not to hammer away at the listeners' hostility, but to reduce it in a way that shows understanding and respect for the listener's ideas."[1]

These same authors suggest strongly that one way of reducing hostility is by "focusing attention on matters about which audience and speaker are in agreement."[2] The strongest common ground that Gladden and his audience were likely to have would be that of their emotional commitments. The ultimate, compelling factor which may be presumed to have cast them into the situation in which they found themselves was their shared religious devotion. And, while we do not here wish to discuss whether or not they may have shared theologies, or matched intensities of commitment, we would suggest that persons who make a commitment to a movement or cause with high emotional content, as we may assume the Christian faith has, are the same persons who will respond favorably to appeals to emotion, provided, of course, those appeals are made in a context which does not offend propriety. Assuming this to be true, if there was appeal to be made, it should have been made to the motivations. It should have been an appeal which took the whole case out of the context of mere reason into the context of the will. It would need to be an appeal which would, in effect, recast the situation into another dimension and open the way for a decision based upon the loftiest loyalties, beyond either logic or petty personalities.

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[1] Ibid., p. 119.

[2] Ibid.

Aside from whether or not this line of reasoning is correct, the fact is that that is the path Gladden chose to follow. Relying basically upon allusions and figures, he reviewed, summarized, and challenged his hearers to be sure that none of the facts of the case were overlooked. But the weight of his speech was in his appeal for a decision based upon inner consideration, not mere facts.

Fundamentally, Gladden focused his appeals upon three areas of commitment: (1) Personal religious commitment (including their self-awareness as Christian gentlemen); (2) commitment to serve as responsible agents in behalf of the churches and the missionaries; (3) the commitment of patriotism.

3. Specific Analysis:

a. Appeals based on religious commitment and Christian character:

His appeal to them on the basis of personal religious commitment and Christian gentlemen is advanced in such direct terms as "dearly beloved brethren," "men with the best intentions," "the respect of gentlemen," "patient and wise and efficient," and "brethren." These men would not question Jesus on the subject of the widow's mite. They would be drawn by the sacrifice of the prairie church in Kansas, and they would be repelled by the gambler. They would identify with "a story of great energy and much patience, of pluck and endurance." They would admire the one who "refused to be daunted, and has fought a good fight," whose "muscles have endured the strain," and whose "heart has not fainted." However, anything associated with "a life-disgraced by remorseless violence and plunder" is unacceptable. They would be horrified at the sight of "the competitive knife dripping with the blood of innocent victims." Quotations from the Bible would conjure up a whole complex of meaningful commitment. They would be sick at heart to "behold the figure of the Bride of Christ drawing near to that horror, and supplicating its aid." They certainly were not "destitute of moral imagination."

b. Appeals based on responsible agency:

Gladden's appeals to his audience on the basis of their commitment to serve as responsible agents amplifies the religious context and enterprise with which they are associated. Their high position makes their actions important not just to the Board, but also to the denomination, and ultimately to "all the interests of the Kingdom of Heaven." They are reminded of "our Congregational constituency," the one "praying, loving, consecrated church" on the Kansas plains, the mission school in Turkey, the "working man," and "the honor and strength of the Congregational churches," "all the churches," and "our active business men." Any action they take on the subject at hand is going to effect all these in one way or another. And he makes it quite clear that this is not an independent agency, it is "the missionary society of the Congregational churches." "It is the representative of the Congregational churches." When it does "glorious work," the churches get the credit. When it makes "mistakes," the churches get the blame. Thus Gladden extended their area of responsibility to behave as Christians and as gentlemen, fully aware of their commitment, and fully aware of those whom their actions would touch. In this there is the appeal to the motives of pride and altruism, sound appeals, according to Hance, Ralph and Wiksell;[1] and there is also a provocation for the listener to review in his mind what his decision will mean in terms of his "relevant reference groups."[1] These groups, Ellingsworth and Clevenger say, are those who come to mind when decisions are to be made. What will the members of those groups think? How will they be effected? Is their opinion and destiny more important to the listener than what is at hand? If his listeners felt any responsibility for the groups Gladden spoke of, he had given them a chance to review it. And he was prepared with counsel on how they could best discharge it.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

c. Appeals based on patriotism:

Gladden also appealed to the patriotic in his hearers. He asked the Board to think of what the consequences to the nation might be, if they continued in their present direction. They would encourage the "rebate robbers" and the "frenzied financiers" until there was "deadly damage done to the nation." "Our president" and "our ex-President [sic]" saw the danger the "conscience of the nation" was aroused; they saw that "our liberties will soon disappear" if this "dangerous foe to the national life" is not checked. Surely the good citizens would act accordingly.

4. Gladden's emotive language:

An arresting characteristic of Gladden's use of motive appeals in his Seattle address is the way in which he used language to advance them (and, although such matters are usually discussed under the heading of style in a special section, it seems that it is most pertinent to discuss the aspect here). The allusions, the figures of speech, and the alliteration he employed are indeed striking.

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[1] Ellingsworth and Clevenger, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

He alluded to "souls . . . ensnared and defiled," "remorseless violence and plunder," "the despair of the man crushed to the wall," and to "lies," "perfidies," and "cruelties." These, it is supposed, raised associations in his hearers' minds with situations commonly known of at the time.

His figures were vivid. The "competitive knife dripping with the blood of innocent victims," the "pirate upon the sea of industrial life," "the Bride of Christ drawing near that horror," and "grasping monopolies," had a quality of threat about them that was near to physical.

His alliteration was most noticeable. Examples are: "frenzied financiers," "deadly damage," "portenteous powers," "courteous and cultivated gentlemen," "deep and deadly injury," "disturbing and divisive questions," "a meaning which we must not miss," "the power which . . . is prodigious."

Although the writer would agree with Hance, Ralph and Wiksell that "figurative language lends a certain brightness and spice to a talk that ordinary, direct statement does not,"[1] and that it is of the utmost importance that language used in persuasion be vivid,[1] still it appears from this distance that Gladden came near to going too far in that direction. Dorn, Gladden's most recent biographer, also viewing the controversy from a distance, says that the language it produced was a "humorous" aspect of the discussion.[2] In addition to what we have already called attention to from Gladden's Seattle speech, other imaginative expressions found their way into print. One article in a Boston paper produced: "greasy gold," "soiled silver," "tarnished tin," "trust treasure," "pilfered pelf," "censurable coin," "suspicious specie," "penitential pesos," "reprehensible rocks," "malodorous mazuma," "approbrius opulence," "nefarious nuggets," "disreputable dough," and "degraded ducats."[3] There seemed to be something about the entire affair that fostered florid forensics.

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[1] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, op. cit., p. 75.

On balance, however, this writer still reacts rather negatively to what he takes to be an over-use of such language in the Seattle presentation of Gladden's. Characteristic of the speaker, or not, characteristic of the controversy, or not, one questions its appropriateness for the grave situation at hand. And if characteristic of

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 189.

[2] Dorn, _op. cit_., p. 323.

[3] _Congregationalist_, XC (May 6, 1905), p. 625; Dorn, pp. 323-324. Gladden even received a letter early in the controversy referring to the gift as "Shekels of a Judas." L. F. Hathaway to Gladden, March 27, 1905.

Gladden, then one might offer the criticism of him that was offered of John P. Curran by Goodrich:

> The faults of Mr. Curran arose from the same source as his excellences. They lay chiefly on the side of excess; intense expressions, strained imagery, overwrought passion, and description carried out into too great minuteness of circumstances.[1] (Emphasis supplied.)

There would be the danger that Gladden's listeners would see such language as ludicrous. Or they might be drawn away from the argument into following the imagery. Or they could be simply offended that such language would be used to discuss so important an issue. Perhaps they could even have felt some resentment over the possibility that they were being verbally assaulted.

In conclusion, on the subject of Gladden's use of materials of experience, it could be said that Gladden's Seattle speech was a motivating appeal, in substance. It was an attempt to move his hearers to take action. He appealed to them as religious gentlemen, as agents for large concerns, and as patriots. They had come well-acquainted with the substance of the arguments centering in the controversy, their own as well as Gladden's. But Gladden, appropriately enough in this writer's judgment, concentrated upon moving them on the basis of that knowledge, by pointing out the emotionally-charged consequences or rewards which lay in whichever direction they might choose.

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[1] Chauncy Allen Goodrich, Essays From Select British Eloquence, edited by A. Craig Baird (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1963), p. 293. (The writer is aware that Gladden's language was neither untoward for the times nor for the topic under consideration. For a discussion that bears on the expectations of the times see: Baskersville, Barnet, "The Dramatic Criticism of Oratory," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLV, (February, 1959), pp. 39-45. This article points out that the dramatic form was the expected mode. However, the writer believes that Gladden's language was too florid for the occasion.)

D. Gladden's Use of Personal Proof (source credibility):

1. General terms and definitions:

> Who says something is as important as *what* is said in understanding the effect of a communicator on an attitude. How the listener perceives the communicator can affect attitude change in numerous ways: the vividness of his personality, his status, the expertise attributed to him, the stake he has in the issue--and these may make a difference. Many attitudes can underlie the effects: affection and admiration for the communicator, fear and awe of him, trust and confidence in his sincerity, fairness, and credibility.[1]

What Cohen, a behavioral science researcher, is referring to is discussed by Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell under the heading of "personal proof."[2] They define it as the kind of proof--or the element that lends credibility to the message--that arises from the person of the speaker.[3] They also term this factor, "*source credibility*."[4] Elsewhere in this paper we have already noted the three elements these authors indicate as being major in personal proof: competence, good character, and good will. And we have stated that Gladden had already proceeded to display competence by exhibiting thorough preparation for the event in the form of a printed manuscript.

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[1] Arthur R. Cohen, *Attitude Change and Social Influence* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964), p. 23.

[2] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

2. Sources from outside the composition:

Hance, Ralph and Wiksell also use the term ethos in connection with those factors associated with personal proof,[1] and state that there are several general sources of ethos that may have an effect upon the audience _though the sources lie outside the composition of the speech_. These they cite as "previous reputation," "advance notices," "introduction by the chairman," and "delivery."[2]

a. Previous reputation:

Of previous reputation they say, "We can scarcely underestimate the importance of the reputation that the speaker brings to the speech situation."[3] As has been stated in the contextual analysis of the speech, Gladden's reputation was substantial. He was a well-known speaker, lecturing in schools and colleges, and at other functions across the country. As a writer, he had had numerous books and articles published. He was Moderator of his denomination's

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 40.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 40-42.

[3] _Ibid_.

National Council. And at least one historian has stated that Gladden's name was a "household word" among Congregationalists. If it is true, as Eisenson, Auer and Irwin say it is, that "listeners tend to accept ideas from those who have prestige,"[1] then it may be assumed that this aspect of Gladden's ethos was at work ahead of his speech.

b. Advance notices:

Another factor which Hance, Ralph and Wiksell say works to enhance the speaker's personal proof is advance notice. These were mixed for Gladden. As we have noted, the religious press, especially the Congregationalist and the Outlook, edited by Congregational clergymen, were opposed to Gladden's views on the topic at hand. The secular press was for him. Among the local papers in Seattle, Gladden was markedly opposed by one paper in particular (the Times), while the others referred to him only in terms of his stand and his stature, making what they could of both to heighten the aura of conflict.

c. Introduction:

Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell say that how a speaker is introduced is important in shaping his personal proof; however, we know nothing about Gladden's introduction except that it was handled by President Capen, highest official on the Board.

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[1] Eisenson, Auer and Irwin, op. cit., p. 284.

d. Delivery:

Few significant aspects of Gladden's delivery of his Seattle speech are known. We only know that he made his resolution from the "floor," and that he gave his address from the "platform." It is unfortunate that we do not have more information about the delivery of the speech, for, as Hance, Ralph and Wiksell state, delivery can play an important role in establishing credibility.[1]

3. Sources from within the composition:

Hance, Ralph and Wiksell also state that there are sources which arise within the composition itself to establish credibility (or take away from it). These fall into two categories: direct statements made by the speaker, and implications and inferences drawn by the speaker.[2]

a. Direct statements:

Under the first category these authors state that

> effective speakers employ direct statements not only about themselves, but also about their supporters, their opponents, and the supporters of their opponents.[2]

(1) Direct statements about himself:

Gladden employed direct statements about himself:

> ". . . I have not abused any authority. . . . [as Moderator]"

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[1] A note on Gladden's delivery is included at the close of Chapter IX of this paper.

[2] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, op. cit., p. 43.

> ". . .I am responsible for the phrase 'tainted money,'. . . ."
>
> "I know. . . ."
>
> "I am aware. . . ."
>
> "I do not judge. . . ."

His most direct and emphatic reference to himself came in his discussion of the effects a wrong decision would have upon the working man. He said:

> Don't tell me I am making too much of a small matter. I know what I am talking about. I have been on the firing line in this warfare for a good many years, and I know how the battle is going. The appalling thing about it all is that so many of those who ought to be our leaders know so little and seem to care so little. But I implore you, as one whose experience is entitled to some credit, that you will not, by your action here today, put any more obstacles in the way of those who seek to make the Congregational Church the church of the common people. (Emphasis supplied.)

Not all Gladden's remarks about himself were positive. As to why the churches were failing in their support of the Board, he said: "I am not quite clear as to the reason of this." As to who was to blame for the lack of support he said:

> I am as much to blame as anybody. I have done a little, but not much; and I take to myself shame and confusion of face because of it.

But he summed up his own approach in his speech:

> I have indulged in no personalities, I have aspersed no man's motives. I have been constrained to speak very plainly, ...

As for what the audience might decide:

> It will not be the first time that I have been in a very small minority, even in this Board, ...

(2) Direct statements about his supporters:

Gladden also made reference to his supporters:

> The men who are protesting here to-day against the policy of the Prudential Committee are not seeking noteriety; they have no particular occasion to do anything of the sort. They are not dissenting because they like to be contrary; they are not unmindful of the injury which such a discussion may inflict upon the work of the Board. Perhaps they feel this injury as keenly as others.

He named them, a list of men of substantial reputation who

> have earned the right to be regarded by you not as pestilent egotists and disturbers of the peace of the churches, but loyal Congregationalists. They have a right to be fully credited. . . .
>
> . . . .
>
> They do not think, and they have never said anything which implies, that the members of this Committee or the officers of this Board intend any . . . injury.

His supporters included many churches and ministers who did not want to be associated with the interests represented by the gift. There were "a great many thousands of Congregationalists who share this feeling."

(3) Statements about his opponents:

Gladden also referred to his opponents. He spoke of "several communications, mostly anonymous,"[1] in which "my right to speak on this subject is called in question." He implied that everyone on the Committee was "honest" and that they were "men with the best intentions." But his references to his opponents never quite qualify as direct references. In all cases he seemed to be inviting them to consider with him the consequences he foresaw, if the wrong move were made. His opponents on the Board and its Committee were never directly named.

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[1] Gladden was especially averse to anonymous letter writers. In his sermon "The Religion of a Gentleman" he said that no gentleman ever writes an anonymous letter.

b. Implications and inferences:

Hance, Ralph and Wiksell state that in addition to elements contained in direct statements made by the speaker, there are elements arising from implications and inferences drawn from what the speaker says which shape his credibility. They say:

> Implications and inferences can arise from the quality of the workmanship of the composition, and these implications and inferences affect the audience's impressions of the speaker as a person. The way the speech is put together suggests--whether the suggestion is true or not--a great deal about the speaker's competence, character, and good will.[1]

They enumerate six sources of these impressions:[2] (1) Choice of subject; (2) choice of lines of thought, that is, "the way the speaker chooses to develop his subject--what points he chooses to emphasize, what points he decides to expand, what relationships he tries to establish;"[3] (3) choice of evidence, that is, basically, is it relevant?; (4) the reasoning process displayed, whether competent or appropo; (5) the arrangement of the material; and (6) the style displayed by the speaker. As they say, impressions gained through any one of these sources may make or break a speech.

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[1] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, op. cit., p. 44.

[2] Ibid., pp. 45-47.

[3] Ibid., p. 45.

It would seem to this writer that all of these would have to be measured for effectiveness in terms of what the audience perceived. However, the scholar may infer some things. And what follows is inference on the part of this writer.

(1) Choice of topic:

The choice of topic was appropriate, when several things were considered. The topic was a subject of general interest in spite of the claims of several of the Board and Committee members to the contrary. Gladden had announced his intention to carry his case to this high level, and, if he were to speak at all, it would be upon this issue. To have not spoken upon it might have shown insincerity at best, or cowardice at worst.

(2) Choice of lines of thought:

As has been pointed out in the commentary on the text of the speech in Chapter VI of this paper, the lines of thought Gladden chose to expand upon were also appropriate. At least they would not have harmed his credibility in any way.

(3) Choice of evidence:

Gladden's choice of evidence was relevant to the subject and intention at hand. He was attempting to foster the rejection of a source, and complicity with the highest level of ethics congruent with the tradition and position of the Church. The evidence he used came largely in the form of assertions about the terrible effects of the giant combines, on the one hand, and assertions about the high traditional ethics of the Church, and his own and others' opinions about what should or should not be done. It was a "matter of opinion," and that is the way he dealt with it. Also, the materials and opinions he cited were those which would identify him as a man who kept good company (such as President Tucker), or one who was acquainted with philosophy (Hegel), religion (the Bible), and the Board's work ("a veteran missionary").

(4) The reasoning process:

Gladden's reasoning processes seem, from this distance, to have been entirely appropriate. Certainly there were no logical non sequiturs. If questions were to be directed to the reasoning he employed, they would have to be directed toward his basic assumptions, not to the way he reasoned from them.

(5) Arrangement of materials:

Gladden arranged his materials in a way which should have added to, rather than detracted from, his ethos. He dealt in the first part of his speech with the question that was probably uppermost in his listeners' minds: Why bring up the subject? To have glossed that would have given the audience cause to think of him as a bore at best. As it was, he gave a reasonable explanation for what might have been considered an embarrassing intrusion. In the body of the speech he discussed the "facts" of the situation in a way which revealed that he was aware of all that had transpired. He was not an "outsider." At the conclusion of his speech he acknowledged the existence of a problem, thus revealing that he was not naive; and he offered a more-or-less practical solution to it, a stepped-up appeal to the churches, thus revealing a practical turn of mind. Again, he did nothing which subtracted from his credibility.

(6) Style:

As to Gladden's style, aside from the remarks made previously on the subject in the discussion of his use of materials of experience, there was nothing about it to detract from his ethos. If anything, the inter-personal quality reflected in his frequent use of the pronoun, "I," in a mode of intimate address rather than a boastful manner, should have given him some qualification as a friend. And intensity of expression should have given the impression of deep concern and sincerity.

In summary on the subject of Gladden's use of personal proof, we may use some of the elements from Hance, Ralph and Wiksell's statement regarding the three components of which personal proof is made up.

Under the heading of competence, we may suggest that Gladden at least had confidence enough in his own competence to state that he knew what he was talking about. He was bold enough to say, "I know what I am talking about."

He showed awareness of the problem at hand, and he demonstrated that he knew what was going on in the world about him. It would be hard to say that he was not very well acquainted with the topic.

Under the heading of good character, his allusions to the Bible and the churches, his straightforwardness ("I desire to express my dissent"), his intensity ("I ask the members of this Board most earnestly to consider whether the gains they are likely to get from these doubtful sources will compensate them for the injury which they are inflicting upon their loyal friends. . . ."), and finally, his humility ("May I be indulged in a personal word?"; "I have done a little, but not much;. . . ."; "I . . . commit with confidence what I have said, to you,. . . ."), all could be indicators of high character. We have already attempted to relate the aspects of his previous reputation which would probably have established his character as good in the minds of his listeners.

Under the heading of good will, he expressed a desire that the Board members not do wrong. He was concerned for the same things they were supposed to hold dear. He wanted to help. His direct statements revealed little of his good will. The one phrase, "dearly beloved brethren," constitutes the whole of what he said directly. But it must be understood here that Gladden's technique was to shift his personal concern over to where he would be identified as a representative of "the men who are protesting here today." They (and hence Gladden) were "not unmindful of the injury which such a discussion may inflict upon the work of the Board." They (and hence Gladden) are simply concerned not to see something go on which, if persisted in, would "work deep and deadly injury to this Board, to the Congregational churches, and to all the interests of the Kingdom of Heaven." They (and hence Gladden) were only trying to help; after all, as Gladden said, "it is not an unfriendly act to point out to them consequences which they do not see and from which they would surely shrink." If Gladden's good will could be seen as merged with the protestants' he spoke for, it was great indeed.

All this, coupled with the enormous reputation he had achieved, should have given a full measure of credibility to his words.

CHAPTER IX

STRUCTURE, STYLE, AND DELIVERY IN GLADDEN'S SEATTLE SPEAKING

A. The Structure of Gladden's Speech:

The plan of Gladden's speech was deductive. According to Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, the deductive speaking plan is one which proceeds from a statement of purpose to particulars. This speaking plan, they say, is essentially argumentative. It consists of a purpose sentence, one or more major reasons in support of the purpose sentence, and evidence and further reasoning supporting the major points. Certain other materials of speaking are employed to carry the points effectively, and a conclusion and an introduction are added to complete the speaking plan. It is, they say, simple, straightforward, and easily followed--perhaps too easily followed, for the points once articulated often may be anticipated in supportive or illustrative substance and hence the speech can become monotonous and dull to the hearers.[1]

Gladden's "purpose sentence" is in his short resolution advanced before the speech proper began. He wanted to gain support for it. A secondary purpose was "to get the main question clearly before us." An analysis of Gladden's speech upon the basis of its technical plot reveals that it may be divided into seven basic parts as follows:

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[1] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-237.

I. A prolonged introduction in which Gladden dealt with the question which had been raised about his speaking upon such a topic while holding the position of Moderator; he sought to explain why it was necessary to introduce such a question at this meeting; and attempted to establish that he was not protesting alone but represented many men of high reputation who had the best interests of the Board at heart.

II. A section prefaced with a statement regarding a deficiency in the Committee's Principle One declaring that it (the Board) was only organized to receive and distribute money. It was, said Gladden, much more than that; it was an agency responsible for seeking and directing the use of funds. But even if it were only responsible for receiving funds, it should keep in mind the dangers inherent in accepting "tainted money." Dangers which the self-proclaimed coiner of the term then proceeded at length to review.

III. The next section took up the Board's responsibility not to seek gifts from questionable sources. There was a tradition established from ancient times for their not doing so. And the contemporary evils of too many accumulators of wealth made them a highly suspect source. Many responsible people, including the government, were moving against them.

IV. The next section asked what the attitude of the church should be. It should be the same as all honorable men, that is, opposed to these evils. But if one accepted funds, his powers of opposition were curtailed.

V. Then came a section which discussed the impact that seeking and accepting aid from such sources would have upon the many loyal constituents of the Board. They would be deeply hurt. And a dangerous example would be given.

The essential speech ends here with the words, "I think I have given adequate reasons why the missionary society of the Congregational churches should not cultivate the friendship and co-operation of men who represent the aggregations of predatory wealth which now threaten the life of the republic."

VI. The next-to-last section took up the question of how the Board was to gain support for its work, if it were cut off from receiving funds from the agencies in question. Gladden suggested that the churches should be counted upon for support.

VII. The last section of Gladden's speech carried an ethical appeal as did the first section. He had not spoken ill of anyone. He had dealt with a serious subject. He was willing to "commit with confidence" what he had said "to you, to the people of the Congregational churches, and to the kindly judgment of all honorable men."

Basically, then, Gladden followed the deductive plan in the structure of his speech. He stated what should or should not be done, what attitudes should be taken, and then gave reasons and examples in support of his statements. In the next-to-last section he varied this somewhat, using a problem-solution type plan as he took up the problem of how the Board was to support its work in the absence of large gifts from questionable sources. Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell characterize the problem-solution plan as one in which there is a problem stated, a solution proposed, and reasons offered in support of the solution.[1] That is the plan Gladden followed in that particular section, attempting to show that the churches could be counted upon to support the work.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 240-241.

The writer would also point out that there are elements of the implicative plan in the speech. Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell describe the implicative plan as one in which a problem is presented to the listeners and then, one after another, the possible solutions to it are considered.[1] They say that this technique has its best use in dealing with a hostile group of listeners.[2] Gladden involved this type plan when he set up the imaginary comparison between the reception which a gift from a dedicated prairie church would get with that which one from a gambler would receive. The point was simply, if you send the latter type money to the field, you risk a similar reception. And again he set up such a scheme when he pointed out that if the Board knowingly accepted gifts from such questionable sources it risked losing its power of moral rebuke. The implicative element was present in Gladden's speech, but in the measured statement, "good reasons" pattern he set up, the plan, section by section, was a deductive one.

The conclusion Gladden employed was a very simple summary conclusion.[3] He did not review all his points, he simply stated that he had given "good reasons," hoping, perhaps, that the points he had made were memorable enough. There was also a strong element of the appeal conclusion,[1] asking by implication that favorable action be taken. It should be noted, however, that there is a conclusion to the main speech, then there is a note on the subject of depending upon the churches for support, and then there is a full conclusion based upon Gladden's desire to have it noted that he had conducted himself as a gentleman and was prepared to trust his listeners' judgment. Gladden concluded his main speech very directly, with a definite statement to the effect that he had given "adequate reasons" why friendship with evil should not be cultivated. On that basis, the very thought of it should be rejected. Hovland, Janis, and Kelley state that on the basis of their research it appears that:

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 240.

[2] _Ibid_.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 242.

> other things being equal, a communication which presents a series of arguments on a complex issue will generally be more effective when the conclusion is stated explicitly.[2]

In view of this statement, it would appear that Gladden's explicit conclusion, stating clearly again exactly how he felt, was the most effective one to use.

Gladden's introduction does not exactly fit any of the types described by Hance, Ralph and Wiksell.[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

[2] Hovland, Janis, and Kelley, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

[3] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-246.

Perhaps the best way to describe Gladden's introduction is as a "Proem," what Aristotle simply called "the beginning of a speech," used for a variety of purposes.[1] The ancient teacher said that if one's matter is plain and short, a proem should not be used.[2] But Gladden's matter was neither plain, nor short, and he was probably correct in using a long opening statement. He used it to accomplish one of the very things Aristotle said it could be used to accomplish: to relieve prejudice against himself (for speaking as Moderator; for introducing the topic).[3] And he also used it to expand credibility of his position through citing the concurrence of his fellow protestants. This writer believes that Gladden was wise to use such a device as feeling was obviously high against him and his position.

In summary, on Gladden's speech plan, he used a deductive form, with overtones of problem-solution and implicative plans. There were at least three aspects to his conclusion, but the main section of the speech had a definite, direct statement at its end. The introduction was more a proem than an introduction, a device which may have served to relieve prejudice against Gladden while expanding his credibility.

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[1] Aristotle, The Rhetoric, translated by Lane Cooper (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1932), p. 220.

[2] Ibid., p. 223

[3] Ibid.

B. Gladden's Style in His Seattle Address:

Gladden's style in his address was vivid, perhaps florid, as has been noted elsewhere in this paper, and even though it may not have added to his presentation, it certainly did it no harm. It reflected many of the characteristics which Hance, Ralph and Wiksell advance as important to good style.[1]

They say that oral messages must be constructed in such a way that they can be readily understood; they must have "instant intelligibility."[2] Although it is dangerous to choose sections for purposes of illustration, as others may reflect the opposite, the writer submits two passages as exemplifying Gladden's easily-grasped style:

> It is often said that one man's dollar is as good as another man's dollar, but this is far from true. One dollar lying in a pile of dollars may be as good as any other dollar in that pile; but one man's dollar is not as good as another man's dollar, because the man is the coefficient of the dollar. What did Jesus say about the poor widow's mite? He said that it was more than all the gifts dropped into the treasury by the rich men. It was worth more to the Kingdom of God. Would you have replied to him that one mite is just as good as another mite, and that since some of those rich men had cast in a thousand mites, their offerings must be worth a thousand times as much as hers? Would you have argued that way with Him? If you believe that there is any truth in what he says then one man's dollar is not as good as another man's. It is not only the

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[1] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, _op. cit._, pp. 183-193.

[2] _Ibid._, p. 184.

> man behind the gun who makes the difference; it is the man behind the dollar quite as truly. And the church which loses sight of this distinction, or suffers it to be blurred, is on the way to apostasy.

. . . .

> Now, I am aware that there are Congregational churches and Congregational ministers to whom such alliances as we are considering are not offensive. They think them suitable and helpful. I do not judge them. But there are other churches and other ministers, a good many of them, to whom associations of this nature are very unwelcome. I know them, and I have a right to speak for them for they have told me, in many impressive ways what they think, and how they feel. Their judgment is summed up in these words of a veteran missionary now in the field: "It seems to me like countenancing evil-doers in their evil doings to solicit and use funds from them for the work of the churches of Jesus Christ." There are a great many thousands of Congregationalists who share this feeling, and I ask the members of this Board most earnestly to consider whether the gains they are likely to get from these doubtful sources will compensate them for the injury which they are inflicting upon their loyal friends in the Congregational churches. An injury it is, and a shame it is. You may not understand it, but we must be permitted to testify for ourselves. We know when we suffer, and we know when we are ashamed. The honor and the strength of the Congregational churches is dear to us, and when anything is done in their name that offends our sense of honor the shame is ours.

Hance, Ralph and Wiksell say that good oral style should possess the element of "personal address,"[1] and there is personal address in these passages as illustrated by the frequent use of the pronoun, "you." In the latter portions of the speech, Gladden gained an even more intimate sense of address by shifting to the use of "we," as in, "We owe to our active business men sounder ethical instruction...;"

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.

and again, "It is sometimes implied that if we are shut out from appeal to these doubtful sources...;" and again, "We have our Congregational constituency..."

There are simple, short, concrete, and natural sentences and phrases used. This is, as Hance, Ralph and Wiksell state, an important consideration.[1] This characteristic in Gladden's Seattle speech may be seen in what follows (the writer has inserted // to accentuate what he believes to be natural breaks):

> Now,//I am aware that there are Congregational churches//and Congregational ministers//to whom such alliances as we are considering are not offensive.// They think them suitable and helpful.//I do not judge them.//But there are other churches and other ministers, //a good many of them,//to whom associations of this nature are very unwelcome.

And there is forcefulness, another important factor,[2] when he says that there is "injury," and "shame" and that "you may not understand it, but we must be permitted to testify for ourselves. We know when we suffer, and we know when we are ashamed."

It seems safe to venture the opinion that Gladden's style of address possessed all the characteristics which would make his speech easy to understand and to follow. It was direct, and forceful; the sentences were simple. Certainly there was no barrier to communication in it.

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[1] _Ibid._, pp. 185-186.

[2] _Ibid._, p. 189.

C. Gladden's Delivery:

As was noted in the comments on the speeches delivered in advance of Gladden's, there was some evaluation of the speakers' delivery offered by reporters. However, the record is silent regarding aspects of Gladden's delivery at Seattle.

Coming out of the 19th century as he did, and from Williams College where president Mark Hopkins had, for two decades prior to Gladden's arrival there as a student, "carried on with traditional rhetorical training," to use words found in A History of Speech Education in America,[1] one might have expected a notable delivery. At least during the forepart of that century, during Gladden's formative years, delivery was emphasized as an integral part of speech-making.[2] One researcher on the period says that in that day "the orator, lawyer, minister, and actor were all concerned with and characterized by their manner of speaking."[3] Although, as the same researcher points out, by the latter part of the century delivery came in for a great deal of de-emphasis,[1] it might have been expected that Gladden's early training would have instilled in him a pattern of delivery worthy of some commentary, and that it would in fact be at least alluded to in reports of the important Seattle speech.

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[1] Marie Hochmuth and Richard Murphy, "Rhetorical and Elocutionary Training in Nineteenth-Century Colleges," in Karl R. Wallace, ed., History of Speech Education in America: Background Studies (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954), p. 164.

[2] Mary Margaret Robb, "The Elocutionary Movement and Its Chief Figures," in Karl R. Wallace, op. cit., p. 198.

[3] Ibid.

No such comment appears, however. There may be three reasons for this. First, and most obviously it seems, it is possible that Gladden's delivery did not warrant comment. It may very well have been that the early emphasis simply did not "take" as far as he was concerned. Bailey, who has studied Gladden's speaking generally, concludes that the preacher read all his addresses.[2] Bailey quotes an observer as follows:

> His uncle [Gladden's] was an admirable reader, and the boy himself was asked to take his part. Those of you who have been privileged to hear, for a generation, sermons read as hardly any other man in America has been able to read them, you listening with no thought at all of the manuscript which was never a barrier between you and him, but only one bond more are greatly in debt to the exercises of that lonely, half-lighted farm house. . . .[3]

Gladden confirms in his Recollections that his uncle was an inspirational reader. Gladden says of his uncle's oral reading:

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Richard Eugene Bailey, "A Rhetorical Study of Selected Sermons of Washington Gladden" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, The Ohio State University, 1964), p. 104.

[3] *Ibid.* Gladden lived a good portion of his childhood with an uncle on a farm in New York. (See appendix.)

> He was an admirable reader; of the arts of the elocutionist, happily, he knew nothing, but he easily caught the author's meaning, and interpreted it with great skill and accuracy.[1]

And of his own early experience as a reader in the household he said:

> As I grew older, my uncle occasionally drafted me into service as reader for a part of the evening, and in that practice I learned most of what I have known of the art of oral expression. There was very little criticism of the performance; all my teacher required of me was to speak distinctly, and to know and convey the meaning of the author. A beautiful art is this, the art of reading; and not so much cultivated, I fear, in these days as in the days of my boyhood.[2]

A contemporary of Gladden's referred to him as "a manuscript preacher."[3] Another wrote, "One can scarcely tell whether Dr. Gladden preaches from manuscript and yet he reads altogether. He has the art of reading down to a science."[4] Taking all these evidences together, it is probable that Gladden followed the same pattern in Seattle. And, to argue from silence, it is suggested by this writer that when a speech is read, delivery is not likely to capture the attention of the reporter. It is simply because Gladden read his speech without any of the elocutionary fanfare which characterized the training of his youth, that no comment is made upon it.

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[1] Gladden, Recollections, p. 24.

[2] Ibid., p. 25.

[3] Charles Reynolds Brown, They Were Giants (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), p. 234.

[4] Rev. E. R. Wright, "The Leader," pamphlet in First Church Archives, Columbus, Ohio.

Two other considerations are: (1) It is possible that the heat of the circumstances caused observers to watch crowd reactions at that particular moment, rather than focus attention upon the delivery aspects of the speech; and (2) it is possible that the content of the speech itself held the reporters' attention. However, of the arguments offered, the writer would suggest that the one given earlier was probably crucial: the delivery was a simple, straightforward reading of the speech, a mode which did not elicit commentary.

CHAPTER X

GLADDEN'S SEATTLE SPEECH: A CRITICAL EVALUATION

A. The Speech:

What follows in this section is a brief critical evaluation of Gladden's Seattle speech, as a speech. This, and the section immediately following, are based upon outlines suggested by Goodrich as interpreted by Baird.[1] As to the appropriateness of adopting Goodrich as a model, Baird's words, "the substantial background of principles derived from Greece, Rome, and the later Western civilization [reflected so fully in Goodrich], must continue to furnish the foundation of mature judgments,"[2] are placed in evidence as sufficient for the day.

1. Gladden's ideas:

Our comparison of the ideas expressed in the Seattle speech with the ideas expressed elsewhere by Gladden, many of them within the few months preceding the Board's meeting, shows that there were practically no new points raised. The only really new line of thought was the one which suggested that the Board's work could and would be supported by the churches, if appropriate appeal were made to them. In essence, his speech was a suggestive review of the total discussion which had been going on for some time. Perhaps Gladden was certain in his own mind that knowledge of the facts related to the subject at hand was not in question. Ellingsworth and Clevenger state that a possible limiting factor in the speaker's purpose is knowledge and experience of the auditors' in relation to the speaker's topic.[1] It is a contention of this paper that this was not a problem for Gladden.

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[1] Chauncey Allen Goodrich, Essays From Select British Eloquence, edited by A. Craig Baird (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1963), p. xlvi.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. xlvii.

Thus Gladden did not "hammer away at the listeners' hostility," an action which would have been bad strategy, according to Hance, Ralph and Wiksell.[2] Rather, he focused attention upon what the audience and he held in common (the worthiness of high ideals, the concerns of the missionary work, affection for the Congregation churches, etc.), and he proceeded upon the basis of suggestion rather than bombast. Both are appropriate strategies for hostile audiences, these same authors say.[3]

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[1] Ellingsworth and Clevenger, op. cit., p. 117.

[2] Hance, Ralph and Wiksell, op. cit., p. 119.

[3] Ibid., pp. 84-87, 119.

Again, it should be noted that Gladden's materials, his ideas, were all based upon the very highest principles. Cathcart says that the critic, in evaluating a speech, should look for the "universal qualities, those appeals that urge men to seek truth and better understanding of themselves and the social consequences of their actions; the employment of those appeals that are universal in the sense that they represent the highest aims of our society."[1] Gladden's Seattle speech was at all points a call to the noblest virtues.

Among the noblest themes Gladden employed was that of responsibility to and for others: missionaries, Congregationalists, working men, business men, etc. In so doing he challenged his listeners to think of all the other groups to whom they had to "answer," figuratively speaking; the groups in which they were expected to play a significant role. This was entirely appropriate, if Ellingsworth and Clevenger are correct in saying that

> just as what the speaker says is determined in part by the groups he belongs to and the roles he occupies in those groups, so the responses available to the respondent will be fixed to a large extent by his group membership and the parts he plays within them.[2]

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[1] Cathcart, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[2] Ellingsworth and Clevenger, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

Gladden called out responsible associations for his listeners to consider in their decision, however, another factor was very probably at work, one very closely related to the factor of role considerations. Hovland, Janis and Kelley state it:

> The available evidence seems to indicate that the more highly a person values his membership in a group the more closely will his opinions and attitudes conform to the consensus within the group.[1]

The many declarations of the members of this proud group of men, all affirming commitment to a stated position, might well have sealed them into a pattern from which they could not break without risking disapproval from their fellows on the renowned American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. At any rate, as Ellingsworth and Clevenger point out, listeners "tend to adjust their perceptions, their evaluations, their reasoning, and their overt response to the people around them."[2] And each listener in Gladden's audience probably visualized himself as surrounded by persons who could not be moved from that stated position.

It should also be noted that Gladden did not shy from the use of refutational materials, arguments which were unmistakenly opposed to the grain of the Board's line. As Wilson and Arnold point out, "effective persuasion normally involves both constructive and refutational discourse."[1] Gladden seemed to sense that if one is to persuade to a series of beliefs, he must very likely dissuade from a series.

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[1] Hovland, Janis and Kelley, op. cit., p. 139. See also Ellingsworth and Clevenger, op. cit., p. 121.

[2] Ibid., p. 121.

2. Gladden's forms of support:

Gladden made very strong use of emotional appeals in his speech at Seattle. If anything, his address was more that than anything else--a strong appeal to his audience's motives.

Gladden carried his emotional appeals with powerful figurative language, using vivid word-pictures of the good and the evil which lay on the other side of a right or wrong decision, respectively.

3. Gladden's personality as a persuasive factor:

It can only be speculated as to the effect Gladden's ethos had upon his Seattle audience. Based upon his reputation and his official position, it should have been enormous. It is clear, however, that he was aware of the factor of ethos, by whatever name he might have wished to call it. He definitely attempted to broaden the credibility base upon which his presentation rested by naming several others whose reputations were similar to his own. (Among the names he read, only those of Updike,

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[1] Wilson and Arnold, op. cit., p. 182. See also Hovland, Janis, and Kelley, op. cit., pp. 105-111.

Strong, Moxom, Davis, and Brown appear in the ABCFM minutes as present.[1]) In reading the names of those who had come to see the issue as he did, Gladden not only expanded his own ethos, he took advantage of another strong factor which often functions to change attitudes. Cohen states it:

> Change in group-anchored opinions can be facilitated by conveying information that other group members have changed their opinions.[2]

Gladden took advantage of his own ethos by flatly offering his own observations as evidence and presenting what we might term opinion but without qualification. Most strongly, he at one point told his audience that his long experience gave him authority to speak. In so doing he enlisted his "direct experience" as an element of personal proof. Ellingsworth and Clevenger recommend this:

> Personal data--that is, the experiences and attitudes of the speaker which have been developed through his personal relationship with the subject under discussion--should be given high priority as evidence. This is particularly true if the source occupies a role perceived by his receivers as being highly related to the subject under discussion.[3]

If he was indeed perceived as the authority he was, then this type of statement should have borne a great impact.

It should be noted that although Gladden's ethos probably served as an asset in his presentation, that very ethos was placed in a position of vulnerability by his advocating a position toward which his audience held such a strong opposite opinion. Berlo and Gulley have demonstrated that in such a situation it is likely that the speaker will lose stature with his audience. The power of the opinion held is usually stronger than the power of the credibility which may be exerted.[1] In summing up what they term the "congruity principle" they conclude:

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[1] The American Board...Annual Report, 1905.

[2] Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[3] Ellingsworth and Clevenger, *loc. cit.*

> It suggests that an audience expects the speakers whom it highly favors to praise only ideas which it also favors, and to attack only ideas which it opposes. Failure on the part of the speaker to adhere to this expectation will lower his own stature with the audience. What this implies in the practical speech situation is that whenever a speaker feels required to defend an unpopular belief, he can assume that he will suffer for it in popular appeal.[2]

Gladden obviously did not mind taking this risk, he had taken it before, but that it was a real risk there can be no doubt.

4. Language:

Gladden's language, though perhaps of questionable taste by today's standards, and possibly not as "clean" as we would like it, was powerful in its figures, consonant with the style of the times (as reflected in other speeches given at the meeting), and reflective of the florid phrases which the discussion of the particular topic had engendered.

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[1] David K. Berlo and Halbert E. Gulley, "Some Determinants of the Effect of Oral Communication in Producing Attitude Change and Learning," Speech Monographs, XXIV (1957), pp. 10-20.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

5. Speech structure:

The structure of the speech was clearly deductive, thereby running the risk of losing the attention of the auditors as the statement-rationale pattern developed. However, because of who it was who was speaking, because of the particular "warmth" of the occasion, and perhaps because of the language, figures employed, and the delivery (of which we have no substantial reports), the speech probably captured and held the listeners' attention.

6. Delivery:

It is unfortunate, but we have no concrete comments on Gladden's delivery, beyond the fact that he read from his manuscript.

If he did indeed read from his prepared manuscript, it is possible that his delivery was of such a nature that it was a factor in his over-all effectiveness. However, there is no testimony to how his auditors were impressed with this aspect of his speech.

If he did read, it might have made a favorable impression upon his hearers in terms of ethos. It might have said to them that the speaker was so sincere in his argument, and so impressed with the gravity of the situation and the importance of his argument, that he did not wish to impose his own particular personality, or have a word missed. It could also have implied a humble willingness to let the record "speak for itself." But all this is speculation, for we cannot tell for certain how he delivered his speech there.

B. The Effects of the Speech (and the Controversy):

Now let us turn to a discussion of the immediate effects of Gladden's advocacy at Seattle, and the wider range of the speaker's influence upon the matter at hand in his own time. We will again follow an outline suggested by the work of Goodrich who might have asked, "How did people behave as the result of this speech?"[1]

1. Immediate response:

As Cathcart says, it does not necessarily follow that the good speech is the one that gets results, or that getting results makes a speech a good one.[2] But Gladden's speech did get results, even if only the decision made at the end of the speech and following debate be taken as a measure. The Board members had come to the meeting with their spokesmen almost universally declaring that Gladden's resolution had no chance. Some doubted that it would be introduced. Others said that if it were, it would soon be disposed of; the Statement of Principles had been adopted and it would prevail. The Board was practically a unit against Gladden. But when the vote was taken, the position of the Board upon the Statement of Principles, though admittedly not overcome, was certainly neutralized. And Gladden's resolution, though it was not formally accepted, neither was it formally rejected. In this instance, as in so many, a tie was a "moral victory" for the underdog.

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[1] Goodrich, as edited by Baird, op. cit., p. xlvi.

[2] Cathcart, op. cit., p. 22.

As to what actually happened, Ellingsworth and Clevenger probably sum it up best in their discussion of how persons tend to respond when they are reminded of the various role responsibilities they bear and then are brought to see that there is conflict involved in the position they are attempting to maintain among them. These authors say that "role conflicts are painful" and that persons are compelled to take action to resolve their conflicts and relieve the pain. In some cases, however, the resolution takes the form of avoidance rather than decision. They say:

> If the desired attitude or behavior must be sustained over a period of time following the communication [and that would have obviously been the situation had the Board adopted either resolution before it], this dissatisfaction may lead the listener to seek alternate courses of action or--what is more likely--try to avoid the behavioral choice altogether.[1]

The writer believes that we have at hand a classic example of such an occurrence. The fact that Gladden was able to create such a situation where obviously none existed before is a credit to the speech he gave.

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[1] Ellingsworth and Clevenger, op. cit., p. 143.

2. Gladden's judgment concerning the effects of the controversy:

Gladden's immediate judgments were mixed. On the face of it, he was inclined to think that the Board had been less than forthright in its action. Following the debate he said to a reporter:

> The committee evaded the whole issue in its action today. The tabling of the resolution was a refusal to indorse the principles laid down by its own prudential committee as well as a substitute resolution.[1]

But he was certain that he read the opinion of the meeting as being in support of his position. He put it: "I interpret the sentiment of the meeting as being favorable to the minority."[2] In another statement he reasoned:

> Had there not been two resolutions before the house I believe mine would have been adopted. Many of my friends told me afterwards that they disliked to vote for my resolution because it would have placed them in the position of opposing the report of the prudential committee.[3]

As to just how far things could have gone in his favor, if the situation had been just slightly altered, he was uncertain. He reported to his congregation a few days later:

> I think that after the debate had gone on for an hour or two there were very few there who were willing to put themselves on record against the one or for the other. Whether the resolution would have been adopted if the question had been taken I do not know.[4]

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[1] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 16, 1905.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Seattle Star, September 16, 1905.

[4] Gladden, "A Long Journey . . . ."

But he was careful to announce to his congregation that as far as he was concerned an "expedient" had been adopted, "the issue was evaded."[1]

However he was certain that: the real question had been put clearly for the very first time; some distinct advance had been made in the protestants' case; the discussion would go on in both Congregational churches and others; and that the strength of public opinion lay in opposition to the Committee and in his position's favor.

On the placing of the real issue he said:

> One thing, I think, was made clear,--that the true question had never been fairly presented by the Prudential Committee to the members of the Board. In every document issued by that Committee the real question has been ignored or evaded. In every presentation of their case they have either asserted or assumed that the question concerned the acceptance of gifts voluntarily offered.

. . . .

> To argue about the inability of the Board to refuse such gifts is . . . childish,--to use no stronger term. They have never had a chance to "refuse" gifts from doubtful sources. The whole question is a question not of refusal but of solicitation.[2]

On the advancement of the cause he said:

> It is not quite true that so far as action is concerned the case stands as it did before the meeting; for before the meeting the Prudential Committee had committed the Board to its statement of principles; and after a full debate the Board has declined to reaffirm those principles, and laid them on the table. That, I think, is a distinct gain.[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

On the subject of the discussion's going on he said:

> I am sure that the result of the discussion has been very salutory; I believe that it will be decisive. The question is up, and it is cleared of the fog which until now has enveloped it; it will not be possible to muddle it,--among Congregationalist--any more. It will be discussed not only in our churches, but in all the churches. And it will do the churches great good to grapple with it, and get down to the foundations of ethical principle.[1]

On the subject of public opinion's being against the Board's action he said:

> The popular feeling of the locality was all one way. It was felt and very strongly said, after the meeting, that the Board had made a very great mistake in dodging the issue; that a great opportunity to put itself right had been lost.[2]

Furthermore, he predicted that the individual churches in the Congregational fold would come to support his position, and that "the result will be the same in all churches of the United States."[3]

On balance, Gladden seemed to be satisfied that his cause had gained more than it had lost in the course of presentation before the Board, and that there would be continuing gain accruing to it. Some of that predicted gain, and some not foreseen, will provide much of the focus for the next two considerations in this section.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Seattle Star, September 16, 1905.

3. Response of Gladden's listeners in terms of belief and attitude change:

Insofar as the Board itself was concerned, Gladden later made it clear in his Recollections that he did not expect anything to happen from their side of it as a result of the meeting.[1] He might well have felt so, if other Board members expressed themselves to him as member David P. Jones, mayor of Minneapolis, did to the press:

> I believe the board made the proper disposition of the "tainted money" subject. Had Dr. Gladden's resolution been the only one under consideration, I think it would have been passed without question, but the substitute resolution complicated matters. The right thing was done when both were laid on the table, so that the board could get down to the real business before it.[2]

And Abbott's Outlook editorial on the meeting and its results intoned:

> The action probably ends the hot debate, at least for the present, and certainly leaves the Committee free not only to accept but to solicit funds in all quarters, provided neither the acceptance nor the solicitation is accompanied by conditions which imply an indorsement of the donor or the methods by which the money has been acquired.[3]

It is true, also, that nothing was ever formally decided on the issue by the Board. Strong, in his history of the Board states: "On these questions, concerning which high-minded and clear-sighted men in the Board's constituency took opposite views, no formal answer was ever rendered by the Board."[1]

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[1] Gladden, Recollections, p. 408.

[2] Seattle Star, September 16, 1905.

[3] Outlook, LXXIX (September 23, 1905), p. 149.

However, Gladden did not give up in his quest for a statement. One of the things he did was make sure that his old friend, George A. Gordon, minister of the influential Old South Church in Boston, was fully aware of all the details of the affair (Gordon was out of the country during most of the controversy). Gordon was a strong man to know. Gray says that he represented the American pulpit at its best.[2] To an extent unequaled by any of his contemporaries, says Gray, Gordon "combined profound scholarship, encyclopedic knowledge, spiritual insight, precise logic, and pulpit eloquence."[3] When all the details had been spread before him, Gordon wrote to Gladden, saying in part:

> I go with the protestants this far--that I think it inexpedient to solicit funds from sources believed to be (whether rightly or wrongly) of an unhallowed character, believed to be by the normal constituency of the Board or by a respectable minority of that constituency of the Board or by a respectable minority of that constituency; I choose to put it on this ground, because it is a defensible ground. A utilitarian basis is sometimes the strongest in a fight of this kind.[4]

Noting the way in which he declared himself, it must have given Gladden some hope to note that Gordon announced further on in his letter that he was to have a meeting with the officials of the Board. After the meeting, Gladden received another letter from Gordon, the first paragraph of which went as follows:

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[1] William E. Strong, The Story of the American Board, p. 489.

[2] Joseph M. Gray, Prophets of the Soul, (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1936), p. 193.

[3] Ibid.

[4] George A. Gordon to Gladden, October 12, 1905.

> At an informal meeting of members of the Prudential Committee and of protestants in my study yesterday afternoon, I was authorized to say to you in your own language, "The principle for which we contended was not voted down at Seattle; the Board simply declined to take any action upon it. I am satisfied that that principle will be respected in the future action of the Board. There need be no fear that moral issues will be raised hereafter in the solicitation of money."[1]

Gladden rejoiced in this and later recorded in his Recollections that it was a clear declaration that "the spirit of my resolution would govern their [the Board's] future conduct." He concluded, "The protest was justified and the battle was won."[2]

The very next Sunday he announced to his Columbus congregation in a sermon, the substance of which was to be used in his Moderatorial address before the National Council that week, that he had authority to declare that his principle would be followed by the Board thereafter. He summed up: "The controversy through which we have been passing seems to be happily concluded."[3]

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[1] George A. Gordon to Gladden, November 2, 1905.

[2] Gladden, Recollections, p. 408.

[3] Ohio State Journal, November 13, 1905.

Actually, Gladden's open declaration may have been an act of precipitous enthusiasm, at worst, a case of misinterpreting what Gordon had written, at best. The second paragraph of Gordon's second letter had gone as follows:

> The meeting was a confidential meeting. The assurance now given is to be used in confidential ways. The terms of the meeting were that nothing should be given to the press upon the subject. The assurance which I am authorized in an informal way to give to you should be used by you in the same spirit. It was felt that it would be a mistake ["calamity" was crossed out] to have the matter get into the press again. Discreet speech is an infinitely better method than the public prints in a case like this, for the dissemination of information.[1]

Gladden's "leak" to the press through his "confidential" announcement made in the "intimacy" of his Sunday congregation was an incident which was still causing the interchange of much pained correspondence many months later.[2] It was clear, however, that some measure of unexpected victory had come Gladden's way.

4. The long-range effects of the controversy:

If long-range may be interpreted here to include distantly-related as well as farther along in time, then several effects were realized from the controversy.

The local public media were taken with the discussion and its significance. One Seattle paper termed it a "great discussion. . . . Perhaps nowhere in the country at that time was there any so important." This particular report went on:

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[1] George A. Gordon to Gladden, November 2, 1905.

[2] Samuel B. Capen, *et al.*, to Gladden, April 7, 1906.

> On both sides brilliant efforts marked the arguments. Few more studied speeches have been delivered in any city at any time in a running debate like the one that held the large gathering in Plymouth church spellbound two days ago.[1]

Another paper headlined: "Stirring Address Against Acceptance of Rockefeller's Money for Missions."[2] (It was hard for everyone to get it straight that Gladden was not opposed to either Rockefeller personally or his money in particular, but was arguing against solicitation from questionable sources.) A local humor columnist, "The Star Dust Philosopher," attended some meetings and reported:

> Th' major'ty sez 'taint tainted, but me fer Doc. Gladden. If I went inter a res'rant an' order'd a dish of ham an' eggs an' seen th' cook's hands was so dirty yer couldn't tell 'im from a regrade worker, d' yer think I'd eat? No, siree; not by a jugful![3]

As for Rockefeller, the humorist went on, "if his hands ain't dirty, I'll eat my shirt, by heck!"

At least one paper got the story straight, the Post-Intelligencer, and their editorials following Gladden's speech, clearly reflected that they understood his position and that they felt a mistake had been made in the action taken. They said:

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[1] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 17, 1905.

[2] Seattle Times, September 15, 1905.

[3] Seattle Star, September 15, 1905.

> By a very large majority the board decided to table the resolution. This does not settle the matter. No such question as this is settled until it is settled right. The Post-Intelligencer is very firmly of the opinion that a mistake has been made and that the board will soon or late correct this mistake and assume a sounder position, ethically, than that to which it is now committed.[1]

A few days later the paper took some of the negative aspect out of their opinion by editorializing:

> The one important matter discussed upon which there was a grave difference of opinion, brought forth no exhibition of bitterness of feeling. Notwithstanding the absence of any decisive action on the matter involved, the discussion itself has served to clear the air and to pave the way for a great reform. This is the general impression among all who heard it or took part in it.[2]

Of course, there were those who rejected the entire matter, out of hand. A correspondent wrote in the local Times that a gift from any source was sanctified by its placement at God's disposal. He wrote, "The moment then that John D. Rockefeller's million dollars touches the altar it becomes thenceforth God's million."[3] The Seattle Argus stated flatly that "any person who objects to the acceptance of money donated for charitable causes on account of the manner in which it was earned is an ass."[4] Besides, the paper reasoned, what was needed was help here at home, not in some far off land.

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[1] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 16, 1905.

[2] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 19, 1905.

[3] Seattle Times, September 17, 1905.

[4] Seattle Argus, September 23, 1905.

Despite the fact that the comment was not all one way, the drift of it seemed to be in favor of Gladden's position. The New York Times, for example, carried the report of the decision of the Board on their front page and predicted that even though the votes had gone against him that Gladden's thesis would prevail. In support of this contention they cited a report from a Methodist Conference in Indiana which had declined to indorse one of their church's appeal to Rockefeller for aid.[1] All this "exposure" of Gladden and his views could only have enhanced the impact the controversy had upon public opinion.

Another long-range effect of the controversy was that it raised the issue as a topic of discussion in some local situations. Gladden had predicted this, although his hopes for the spread of dialogue on the theme were larger than what seems to have materializied. However, there are several letters in his correspondence either asking or thanking him for materials used in preparation for some Literary Club or Men's or Ladies' group.[2]

The controversy in which Gladden was at the vortex was not without its impact upon the business community; at least there are historians who feel that it had a definite impact upon the leadership of the Standard Oil Company. Nevins states that it "caused Rockefeller's associates to abandon his policy of silence."[1] Fosdick is even more positive, saying of the controversy that it changed policy and served as a lesson for a Standard Oil scion:

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[1] New York Times, September 16, 1905.

[2] See, for example Clifton P. Grant to Gladden, September 2, 1905; Henry G. Williams to Gladden, September 25, 1905; G. L. Hull to Gladden, February 19, 1907; etc.

> It reversed the policy of silence which the Standard Oil Company and Mr. Rockefeller, Sr. had always followed in the face of attack, and it alerted J. D. R., Jr. to the power of a public opinion which fed on unanswered charges.[2]

As early as April 1, H. H. Rogers, a vice president of the company, issued a statement in defense of the firm, prefacing it with the statement that rebates were once legal in the United States in the same way that slavery had been in some parts of the country. He closed with a direct statement about ministers in general and Gladden in particular:

> Ministers are queer things. Dr. Washington Gladden says that everybody knows that John D. Rockefeller has obtained his money dishonestly. With as much reason I could say that everybody would not trust the ten commandments for ten days with the deacons of his church, because they would surely break some of them and bend the rest.[3]

On April 7, Standard's chief counsel declared the statement that Rockefeller had made his money dishonestly to be "false, . . . vile, and being made by ministers in the pretended interest of morality is doubly vile."[1] On April 16 the company issued a statement to the effect that the Standard was not a philanthropy; it was run on business principles; in the conduct of its business it simply conformed to the methods and ethics of the commercial world.[2] So other statements were issued,[3] but apparently the results were not satisfactory to the Standard, for by April 11 the managing editor of the Independent wrote to Gladden:

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[1] Nevins, _op. cit._, II, p. 534.

[2] Raymond B. Fosdick, _John D. Rockefeller, Jr.: A Portrait_ (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956), p. 134.

[3] _Ohio State Journal_, April 1, 1905.

> Your Rockefeller article has come and I am delighted with it. I called Rogers up on the telephone yesterday and asked him if he would not write a reply to it, but he said that Dodd (their solicitor) has advised them to keep quiet in the future, and they are not going to say anything.[4]

This did not hold, of course, for statements were released closely before and after this declaration, but it does help to make clear that the Standard had not departed from their tradition of silence without much backing and filling. It had taken something as powerful as the Gladden-led controversy to do so. And Ida Tarbell, the Standard's chief antagonist, was certain that Gladden and his fellow protestants had done more than any others had ever done to bring the company to bay.[1] The writer of a recent news article contended that "the real beginnings of a burgeoning profession--corporate public relations,"[2] could be traced to this event, but this is probably not quite true. As Dorn points out, it is more likely that this element in the conduct of modern business grew in a more evolutionary fashion.[3] But it is true that shortly after the controversy the Standard hired a reporter from one of the New York papers to serve them.[4]

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[1] Ohio State Journal, April 7, 1905. [It is notable in relation to Gladden's role in this that prior to their publishing Dodd's statement, the Chicago Tribune wired Gladden asking for a statement from him to print with it. Chicago Tribune to Gladden, April 6, 1905 .]

[2] Ohio State Journal, April 17, 1905. [See also Managing Editor, American, New York, to Gladden, April 16, 1905.]

[3] Ohio State Journal, May 7, 1905.

[4] Hamilton Hall to Gladden, April 11, 1905.

As a footnote to this, what may be said of Gladden's ethos? Did it suffer because of his stand-off at Seattle? Apparently it held up, nothing dimmed. His publishers were only too happy to have his book manuscript containing the Seattle speech and his "tainted money" article, among others.[5] He was invited to give an address at the meeting of the denomination's National Council meeting in 1907.[6] And he was invited to contribute a regular column to one of the nation's largest magazines.[7]

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[1] Herbert W. Gleason, May 10, 1905.

[2] Columbus Dispatch, March 7, 1965. Arter, William, "Tainted Money and PR."

[3] Dorn, op. cit., p. 327.

[4] Nevins, op. cit., II, pp. 349-350.

[5] Ida M. Tabell to Gladden, October 16, 1905.

[6] Josiah Strong to Gladden, October 21, 1907.

[7] Ida M. Tarbell to Gladden, October 30, 1905.

And he was received by his old friend, President Roosevelt, on November 17, 1905.[1]

Gladden did not cease his discussion of the subject of the dangers giant corporations posed for society, and the special danger that religious organizations were prey to if they sought their wealth. Shortly after the Seattle meeting, in November, Gladden addressed the New York State Conference of Religion on the theme, "The Relation of Moral Teachers to Predatory Wealth."[2] As late as 1910, he addressed his congregation on the theme, "Charity on the Grand Scale," and in that sermon criticized the business practices of giant corporations and especially the Standard's whose founder had proposed the establishment of a Rockefeller foundation.[3]

In summary, there were definitely several observable effects which could be traced to the controversy of which Gladden's Seattle speech was the climax. For one thing, a vote was taken which showed that many of the Board members had moved from a position of extreme opposition to Gladden's position to a place where they were willing not only to refrain from voting his resolution down, but to set aside their own much-publicized Statement of Principles.

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[1] W. Laely to Gladden, November 10, 1905.

[2] Washington Gladden, "The Relation of Moral Teachers to Predatory Wealth," pamphlet published by The New York State Conference of Religion, Series IV, No. 2, April, 1906.

[3] Gladden, "Charity on the Grand Scale," Sermon, April 3, 1910, Gladden Papers.

Gladden himself was satisfied that the speech had achieved a measure of advancement for his position. The vote he accepted as favorable to his cause, and he was certain that further developments would confirm that great good had been accomplished.

As for the Board itself, the immediate audience, they were, as represented by a statement issued informally through an influential spokesman, willing to assure Gladden that nothing would be done in the future to offend his sensitivities on the matter. It is not clear, but it may be that Gladden read more than he should have into this statement. At any rate, it appears certain that he exceeded his authorization in making the announcement of "victory" that he did.

There were several occurrences after the speech which might well have had some cause-and-effect relationship to it. It made a definite impression upon the news media of the day and gained for Gladden's cause a measure of publicity, most of it favorable. The discussion also apparently stimulated further dialogue on the theme in various kinds of groups, although it is not known to what extent. The Standard Oil Company fluctuated in its response, but it is clear that they were much aware of Gladden and his views, and attempted to refute them, finally hiring a professional newsman to assist the firm in further altercations of this sort.

It is clear, in regard to Gladden's ethos, that he suffered in no wise from his "defeat" at Seattle.

If evaluated in terms of effects, the speech was a most successful one. And, when viewed in the light of the following from Wilson and Arnold, the speech assumes even more significance:

> It is not the absolute effect of a persuasive speech that testifies to its excellence, but the comparison between the actual effect and what was reasonably possible considering all the circumstances.[1]

It does not seem reasonable to this writer to suggest that Gladden's speech could have accomplished more.

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[1] Wilson and Arnold, op. cit., p. 179.

CHAPTER XI

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THIS STUDY, AND PROPOSALS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The purposes of this section of the study are two: (1) To state the ways in which Gladden's "Ill-Gotten Gains" address and this study contribute to the field of speech communication; and (2) to make recommendations regarding further research which might be conducted in areas touched upon by this study.

A. The Contributions of Gladden's "Ill-Gotten Gains" Speaking to the Field of Speech Communication:

In almost all instances, Gladden's contributions may be stated in terms of example rather than precept. By example he demonstrated what a speaker could do to "win" his case in a situation wherein all the so-called "facts" of that case, as well as the supporting arguments around them, had been reviewed by the audience beforehand. As has been shown, Gladden's audience had not only had opportunity to review his arguments, they had also gone so far as to commit themselves publicly to a statement which took a stand opposite from his own.

In that situation Gladden did not choose to repeat himself by direct references. Rather, he moved by means of allusion and suggestion, employing powerful ethical and motivational appeals, rather than by directing his audience's attention to a litany of evidences, stated and supported in detail. Also, it should be noted, he displayed an awareness of his audience members' self-orientation in terms of the roles in society that they were expected to play, and the responsibilities those roles entailed.

Also, by example, he showed how to lift an argument with dark overtones, almost completely negative in its origins, onto a high plain of ethical demand and positive opportunity. Instead of arguing strictly against a proposition (although this was obviously a part of his presentation) he moved his discussion over into the realm of acting in such a way as to foster the highest possible respect on the part of all those who would surely be looking to the agents of the churches for an example. In essence, his argument was not against, but, rather, for something.

By example, Gladden showed himself to be a complete communicator. Although we have focused upon his "Ill-Gotten Gains" speech, it is obvious that Gladden not only employed public speaking to advance his message, but he also effectively gained the cooperation of the other public media of the day (the press) to amplify in print what he advocated on the platform. It may be argued that he was an exceptionally gifted person, having both the talent and energy to prepare for speaking as well as for the press, but it must be pointed out that he did indeed do so, and the "magic" of appearing in print must have at least affected his ethos, in addition to whatever effects the cogency of his reasoning might have had.

By precept, as well as by example, Gladden showed that the effect of even one man who sets out both to inform and motivate public opinion can be mighty. But he made it abundantly clear that the two aspects--informing and motivating--must go together. Dry facts mixed with cold reasoning are not enough. There must also be the warmth of the communicator's personal commitment, combined with the adhesive power of logical relevance to the hearer's humanity.

Finally, Gladden demonstrated the way in which a Christian communicator might confront a major issue, at many points touching upon emerging concerns of lasting significance, but dealing with them rather than falling back upon either time-worn cliches or drifting into vague equivocation. He saw the timeless within the timely and chose to argue those points instead of avoiding them because they were not to easily recognized. For examples:

Gladden would have had an answer for the University of Michigan's Law School Professor Kauper, who recently asked:

> Population growth, the urban sprawl, the flight to the suburbs, the decay of the inner city, the demand of the Negro for equal treatment, the concern for the needs of the poor and underprivileged, and the effects of automation point up the basic human problems at stake in our socio-economic development. Do our churches have anything to say or contribute respecting these problems?[1]

He would have agreed with Professor Kauper that

> the first imperative the church faces is to make its own constituency, as citizens, aware of their responsibilities. The layman must take his place not only in the church but also in the community as a witness to his faith.[2]

And, as a "moral teacher," he would have agreed with Kauper that in order to accomplish this there must be

> an educational program consisting of study and research directed toward identifying the important problems we face today and exploring the relevancy of the Gospel in regard to the human values at stake and the alternative solutions available.[3]

Among the emerging issues which would prove of lasting significance was that of academic freedom. Even today scholars take up their own cause and counsel that

> it is highly needful, in the interest of society at large, that what purport to be the conclusions of men trained for, and dedicated to, the quest for truth, shall in fact be the conclusions of such men, and not echoes of the opinions of the lay public, or of the individuals who endow or manage universities.[4]

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[1] Paul G. Kauper, "The Churches and the Public Order," The Chicago Theological Seminary Register, LVI (December, 1965), p. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Joughin, *Academic Freedom and Tenure*, p. 162

He called into question the whole matter of corporate contributions to social-service organizations. Are they offered out of a concern for mankind's general welfare, or is it simply a matter of "buying" one more element required to make the business even more "successful?" As a recent work on company contributions discussed it:

> The motivating factor behind company giving is the direct benefit to the company generally, or to one of its several publics. This criterion is spelled out in one policy as follow: "The yardstick of measurement in considering any and all contributions will be determined as follows: What benefit, direct or indirect, does our business receive from these organizations? We should endeavor to determine beyond any doubt that there is a direct or indirect benefit to the company, and unless this can be demonstrated the contribution should not be made."
>
> In a similar vein, the policy statement of a manufacturer of heavy machinery reads: "The theory under which all contributions are made is that they bring direct or indirect benefits to our business, and corporations have a generally recognized responsibility to support such organizations when there are direct or indirect benefits."
>
> Benefits to the company are described as "increased good will or prestige or esteem by the public, or acceptance of the company and its product;" or "buying of company good will."[1]

This material is not quoted to exhibit what Gladden might have termed "sordid" reasons for philanthropy; the point is simply that the issue is still by no means a settled one. But the issue arose, was recognized, and confronted by Gladden in his own time.

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[1] Company Contributions, III: Policies and Procedures, Studies in Business Policy, No. 89 (New York: National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., 1958), p. 19.

Gladden also saw a great cleavage developing between the haves and the have-nots, one which was marked by a spirit of distrust; but, more importantly, one that threatened to make it impossible for all people to adopt and promote the same spiritual organizations. At least they would not be found in the same place at the same time devoted to the same cause. The possession or lack of money was creating a fault line through society that would separate people as effectively as any wall. Gladden foresaw the effects upon the possessors and the dispossessed when the inequity was fully recognized and he would have understood Max Ways' words, written in 1968:

> The expectational fever has many carriers. Recent U. S. civil strife can be attributed in part to the impact of television on underprivileged Negroes who saw another world in their living rooms. During the riots that followed the murder of Martin Luther King, a young Negro anti-poverty worker said: "What whitey don't understand is that America is a damn rich country and that she flashes this richness in the brother's face and tells him, 'It ain't for you.'"[1]

Unfortunately, then as now, those who were well-established among their possessions could not understand the dire plight of the poor, their immediate needs, the ways and means required to relieve them.

Gladden also challenged the effects which life in the corporate structure would have upon the individuals who found themselves working within it. It is still debated in management literature today as to whether or not executives necessarily seek to conform to the corporation's mode of doing things regardless of the morality of it.[1] And in a popular magazine's study of a well-known school of management, "the West Point of American Business," a student is quoted as pointing out that among the courses "noticeably absent" from the curriculum is Business Ethics.[2]

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[1] Max Ways, "The Dynamite In Rising Expectations," Fortune, LXXVII (May, 1968), p. 133.

These issues, and others more and less significant, Gladden confronted as they were only beginning to take shape in America's new industrial age. But, perhaps most important of all, Gladden confronted them where it was most likely that something could be done about them, that is, in the arena of public opinion. As Gladden strove to effect change in the American way of life, he did not seek to recommend specific laws or new forms of commerce or government. He always talked in terms of a reformed public opinion. Dulles says that to have appealed to the laws and the courts would have been ineffectual. The people themselves were taken with the spirit of tremendous gain in national income and a general rise in the standard of living. If they could have these things only by tolerating certain evils, then those evils would indeed be tolerated. The benefits of prosperity, to use Dulles' words, "appeared more important than either the glaring paradox of progress and poverty or the possible threats monopoly presented to political democracy."[1] The government structure, the laws and the courts, appeared to be already held well in hand by the combinations' interests. Therefore, to quote Dulles again, "the forces of reform could not combat them effectively until the people as a whole were sufficiently aroused to compel a basic change in policy."[2] Gladden recognized this and appealed to the people.[3]

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[1] Walter Guzzardi, Jr., The Young Executives (New York: The New American Library, 1964), p. 66.

[2] Nicholas Pileggi, "The West Point of American Business," The Saturday Evening Post, 141st year (May 18, 1968), p. 92.

In short, Gladden clearly saw that speech, in the words of Ellingsworth and Clevenger, could effectively serve as "an instrument of social action."

B. Contributions of This Study to the Field of Speech Communication:

The writer believes that this study makes two significant contributions to the field of speech communication: (1) It provides one more model, imperfect though it may be, of the problem - solution approach to the study of significant speech occurrences as advocated by Cathcart; (2) It focuses a wide range of communication considerations upon a single incident; and, perhaps most significantly, helps us see more of the total communications aspects of the situation than would any other method. By looking at the man and everything going on about him which might effect him, and hence his message, we may come close to entering that situation ourselves, and hence make more realistic critical judgments. As Sillars puts it:

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[1] Dulles, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[3] Ellingsworth and Clevenger, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

> If rhetoric is truly an act which leads one to know more, not less, about men, then the critic should be able to learn much which traditional analysis cannot reveal by defining the rhetorical act of one man (or group) by the rhetoric of those about him.[1]

And again:

> The more this writer studies American public address, the more convinced he becomes that an orator in the vortex of public issues has his rhetoric shaped more by those about him than by the physical conditions which have generally seemed more important to the traditional historian.[2]

To the extent that this study has illustrated the fact that there were indeed a number of kinds of communication attempts being made around Gladden, that there may have been considerable influence brought to bear upon his audience and himself which would have affected both the incident and its outcome, and that Gladden considered these influences in his preparation and delivery, to that extent this study reflects the life-situation case-study it was intended to be.

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[1] Malcolm O. Sillars, "Rhetoric As Act," Quarterly Journal of Speech, L (October, 1964), p. 280.

[2] Ibid., p. 281.

C. Recommendations for Further Study:

On Gladden as a speaker there are at least two further studies which need to be made. One of these should be a study which follows more traditional means, permitting us to discover all that Gladden advocated by way of what is generally termed rhetorical or homiletical theory, and also showing us of what Gladden's actual preaching practice consisted. Inasmuch as Gladden presented two series of lectures on the Lyman Beecher foundation and left 1,500 extant sermon manuscripts, there is ample material. Incident to that, we would want to find out in what ways Gladden's speech at Seattle was, or was not, typical.

Another study that should be done of Gladden's work is one which would employ the method used by Broadhurst in his study of the preaching of Dr. Norman Vincent Peale.[1] The lead question which should be asked is, How much of his preaching did Gladden devote to social improvement themes, and how much to more traditional theological, biblical, and personal uplift themes? The writer would offer the hypothesis that there was considerably more of the latter than of the former.

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[1] Allan R. Broadhurst, "A Thematic Analysis and Rhetorical Study of the Sermons of Dr. Norman Vincent Peale," (Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1961); the substance of this study was later published as Allan R. Broadhurst, He Speaks the Word of God: A Study of the Sermons of Norman Vincent Peale (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1963).

The method employed in the study at hand could be extended to any number of speaking situations of significance. One of contemporary importance would center in the speaking of Montreal's Mayor Drapeau in response to the issues raised and amplified by France's De Gaulle regarding the formation of an independent French-speaking province from Quebec. When it was announced that the French leader was coming to visit, all the arguments for and against independence were raised. Then, in a prepared speech, De Gaulle advanced the proposal in no uncertain terms. Twenty-four hours later, Mayor Drapeau was to make remarks at a luncheon which would send the French leader on his way with an impassioned declaration of Canadian self-determination ringing in his ears. The challenge was clearly advanced to Drapeau, and he arose to the occasion magnificently in a speech which was reported verbatim by the local press.[1] It is a speech of sufficient length, and the issues it raises are of sufficient importance to warrant a full study using the method advanced in the one at hand.

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[1] See the Montreal Gazette, Montreal Star, and the Montreal La Presse, July 27, 1967.

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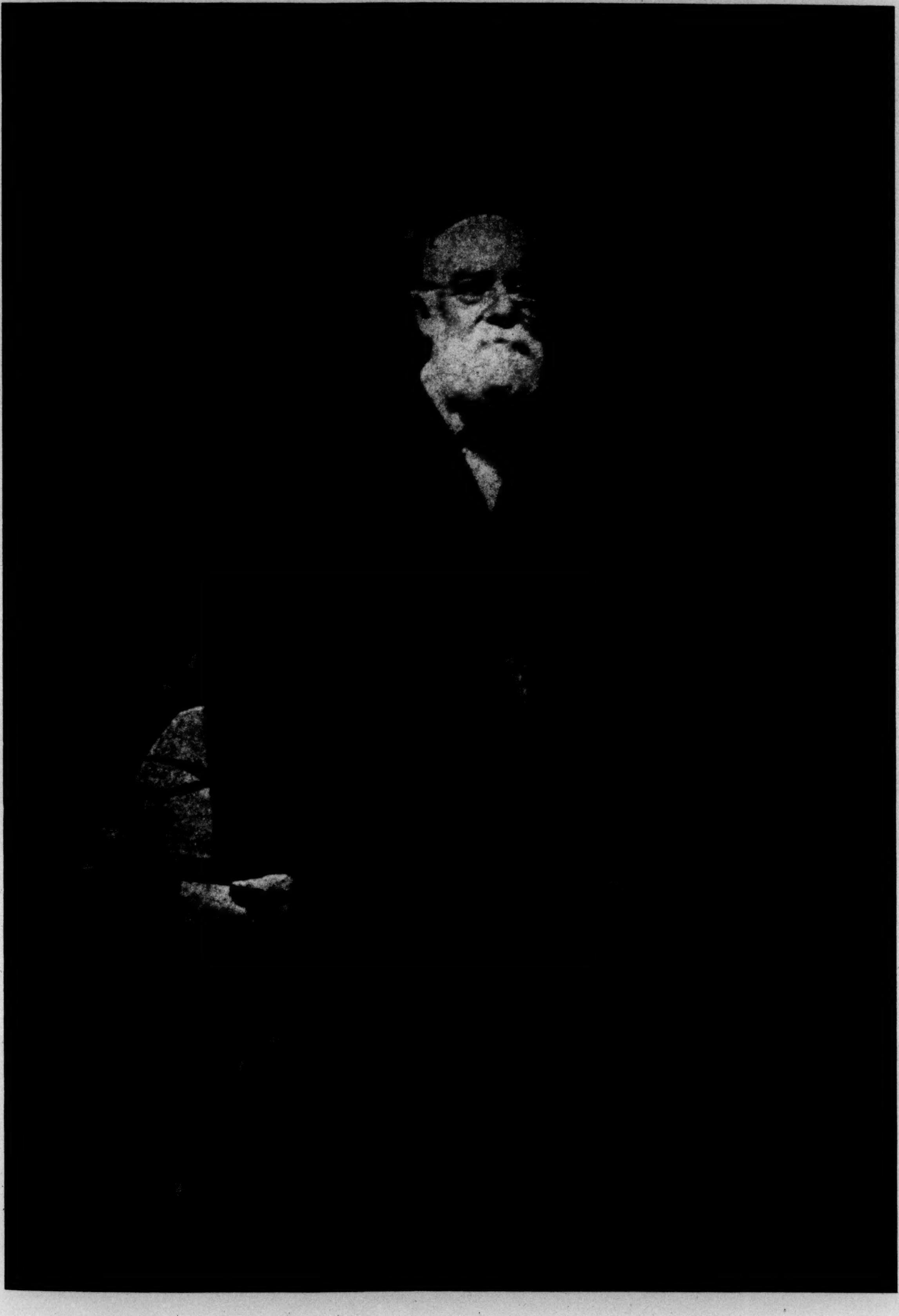

Photo of Washington Gladden (From the archives of First Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio)

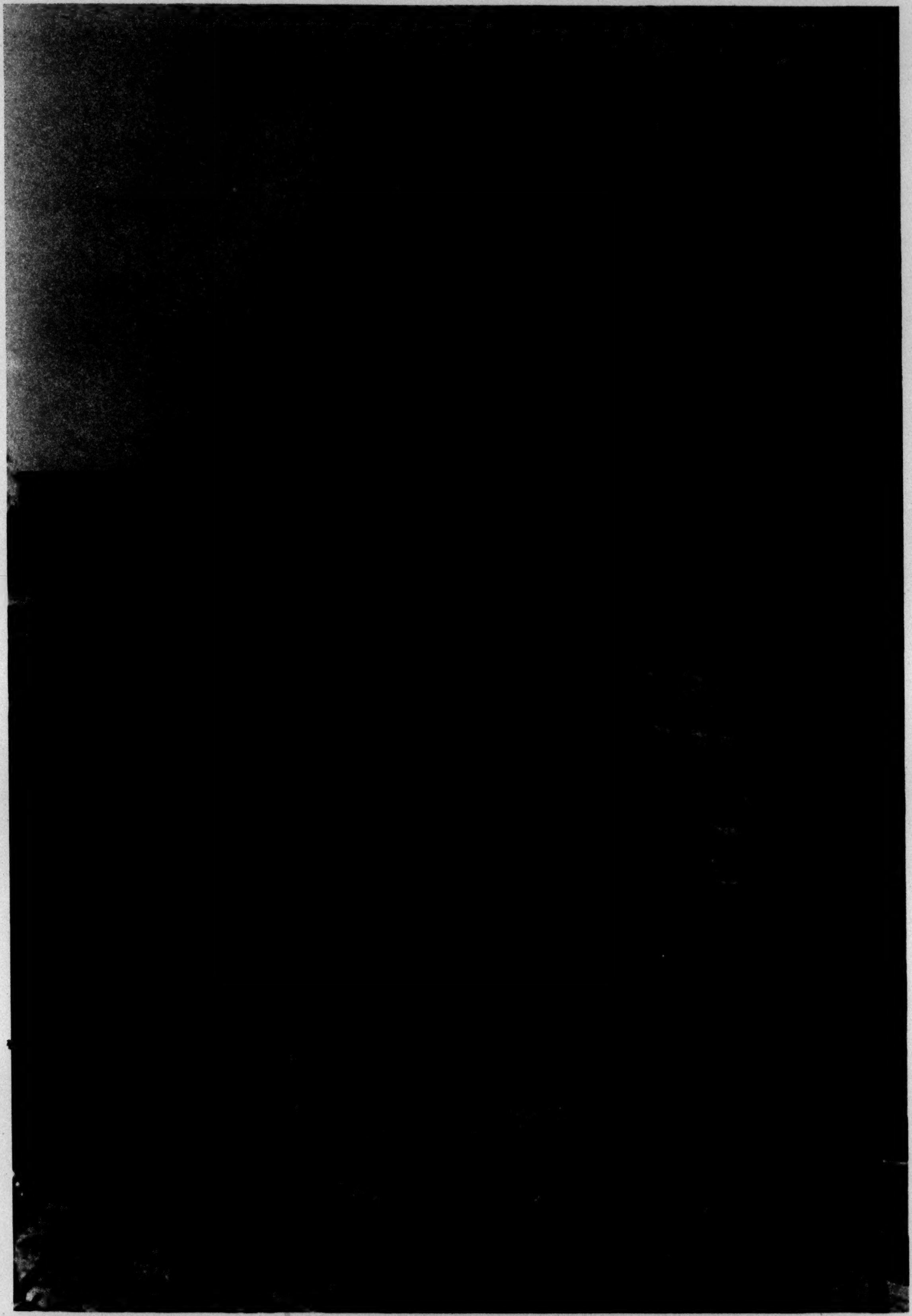

Photo of the Plymouth Church, Seattle, Washington; identified as standing and in use in 1905. (From Alice D. Rayner, The Path We Came By: A History of Plymouth Congregational Church, Seattle, Washington, 1869-1937, (no. pub., no date), p. 72.)

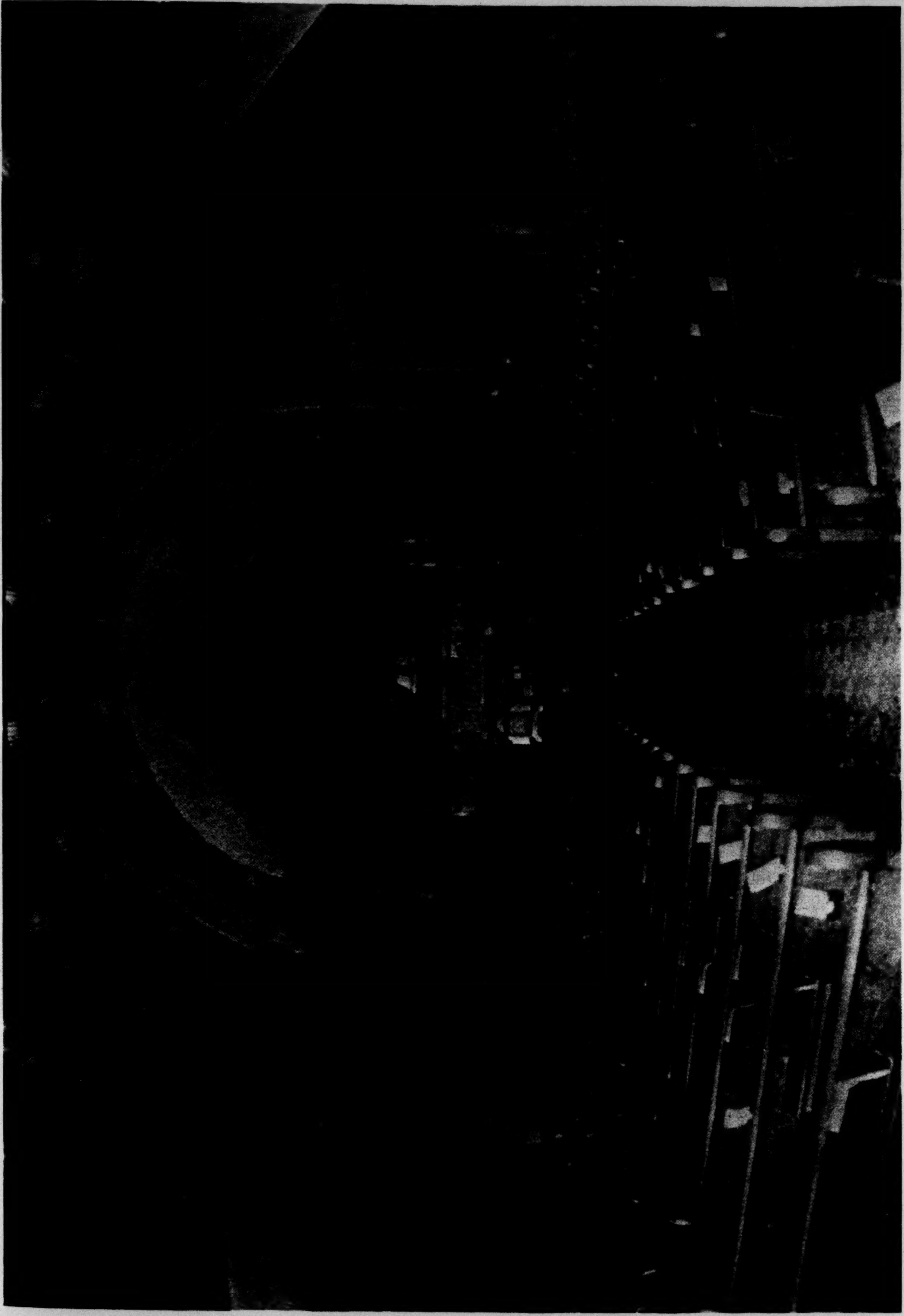

Photo of the "auditorium" of Plymouth Church, Seattle, Washington. (From Alice D. Rayner, The Path We Came By: A History of Plymouth Congregational Church, Seattle, Washington, 1869-1937, (no. pub., no date), p. 71.)

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES [1]

Whereas, The Prudential Committee in its circular letter of August 8, 1905, submitted for the consideration of the Corporate Members a series of principles which, in its judgment, should govern the action of the officers of the Board in the matter of gifts, to which answer was made by a large majority of such Corporate Members approving such statement, and which statement of principles is as follows:--

Principles

(1) Organized as a corporation to carry on foreign missionary work and to receive gifts for that purpose, the American Board has not been given the authority to discriminate between those who offer such gifts, and thereby to judge the character or reputation of the donors. It is not a beneficiary from the gift, but only an agent or a trustee for others.

(2) While the Board cannot properly accept money from one to whom any of its officers knows it does not belong, it cannot, on the other hand, properly decline to receive money from its legal owner, provided it is given for the purposes for which the Board was established and in accordance with its rules. In the absence of legal proof to the contrary, it is necessary to assume that money belongs to the person making the gift. Investigation by the Executive Officers to determine the sources from which gifts come is neither justifiable nor practicable.

(3) By acting under the above principles, which require the receiving of gifts without compelling its officers to trace the manner in which the donor may have acquired them, the Board pronounces no judgment on the character of donors. Nor by the acceptance of gifts are its officers or members stopped from criticising business methods, or from persistently raising their voices in behalf of the application of the principles of righteousness in all departments and walks of life.

(4) The officers of this Board, as of all other similar Boards organized to promote religion, philanthropy, and education, are morally bound to use every legitimate means to secure and convert money from other uses into the direct service of advancing the kingdom of God in the world. It is for the good of all that the way should be made easier and not more difficult, for all to give of their present possessions and increasing wealth for the noblest purposes.

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the aforesaid statement of principles be, and the same is, hereby approved.

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[1] "Minutes of the Annual Meeting," American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Annual Report, 1905, (Boston: Published by Order of the National Council, 1905), viii.

Tainted money

Shall Ill-Gotten Gains be Sought for Christian Purposes?

Prepared for Presentation to the American Board
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I desire to express my dissent from the "principles" set forth by the Prudential Committee for the government of the Board in the gathering of its revenues.

May I be indulged in a personal word? I have been favored with several communications, mostly anonymous, in which my right to speak on this subject is called in question, because of the position which I hold It is declared to be an abuse of authority for the Moderator of the National Council to express his mind upon a question where there are two sides.

With respect to this I have to say that I have not abused any authority and could not if I tried, because I have none to abuse. There is no ecclesiastical body within Congregationalism which has the power to clothe anybody with ecclesiastical authority. There is no Congregationalist whose words when he speaks can have any more authority over other Congregationalists than there is in the reason and truth which they contain. And simply because this is so there is no Congregationalist in any position high or low who should not have the right to speak the truth that is in him, asking for that truth its proper weight with other minds. If the Congregationalists have created a position in which a man is prevented from speaking what he believes to be true and important, the Congregationalists have committed a deadly sin against the light. The Congregationalists have done no such thing. There may be benighted persons in other churches who imagine that the Moderator of the Congregational Council has some of the attributes of a Pope, but there is no intelligent Congregationalist who does not know that the imputation to him of any ecclesiastical authority whatever is simply ridiculous.

There is another deprecatory word which we have frequently heard, and to which I wish to allude: "Why introduce into this assembly [illegible] and divisive question?" we are asked. The answer is, first, that those who think as I do are not

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There is another deprecatory word which we have frequently heard, and to which I wish to allude. "Why introduce into this assembly disturbing and divisive questions?" we are asked. The answer is, first, that those who think as I do are not responsible for the introduction of these questions; the officers of the Board themselves have introduced them. The question must mean, then, "Why not agree to this statement of principles without debate, and avoid all unpleasant discussion?" It seems to be assumed that any dissent from this statement can only arise from a litigious and quarrelsome temper, or an undue wilfulness or vanity, or some other phase of depravity.

I wonder, dearly beloved brethren, if we are asking too much when we ask to be judged a little less harshly than this. The men who are protesting here today against the policy of the Prudential Committee are not seeking notoriety: they have no particular occasion to do anything of the sort. They are not dissenting because they like to be contrary; they are not unmindful of the injury which such a discussion may inflict upon the work of the Board. Perhaps they feel this injury as keenly as others.

Such men as William J. Tucker, and William H. Ryder, and John Bascom, and Reuen Thomas, and Philip Moxom, and William V. W. Davis, and Daniel Evans, and Hugh M. Scott, and E. D. Curtis, and E. G. Updike, and Charles M. Sheldon, and Charles R. Brown, and Sydney Strong, and Artemus Haynes, and Lewis O. Brastow, and Newell Dwight Hillis, and Frank S. Fitch — I name but a few out of many — have earned the right to be regarded by you not as pestilent egotists and disturbers of the peace of the churches, but as loyal Congregationalists. They have a right to be fully credited when they say that they dissent from the statement of principles here presented because it is their profound conviction that the policy declared and implied in that statement and illustrated in recent acts of the Committee must, if persisted in, work deep and deadly injury to this Board, to the Congregational churches, and to all the interests of the Kingdom of Heaven.

They do not think, and they have never said anything which implies, that the members of this Committee or the officers of this Board intend any such injury. They know that the interests and purposes of these men are just as honest as their own. It is the tendencies and consequences of their policy that we are discussing; not their intentions. Men with the best intentions may do a great deal of harm; and it is not an unfriendly act to point out to them consequences which they do not see and from which they would surely shrink.

I come now to the "Principles" formulated for the guidance of the Board, with what they involve and imply.

Principle One is defective in its statement of the purpose responsible for the introduction of these questions; the officers of the Board themselves have introduced them. The question must mean, then, "Why not agree to this statement of principles without debate, and avoid all unpleasant discussion?" It seems to be assumed that any dissent from this statement can only arise from a litigious and quarrelsome temper, or an undue wilfulness or vanity, or some other phase of depravity.

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Principle One is defective in its statement of the purpose for which the Board was organized. It is much more than "a corporation to carry on missionary work and to receive gifts for that purpose." In the words of President Tucker: "The Board is not primarily a depository for the reception of unsolicited gifts, nor even an agent or trustee for their disbursement. Primarily the Board, as it exists today, is a powerful organization for the solicitation and direction of funds toward missionary ends. Its work in these regards is as positive and aggressive as its work in the field. Principles one and two virtually ignore the whole matter of solicitation in which present issues for the most part lie." It is this function which we must keep clearly before us in the entire discussion. It is what has been done in the exercise of this function, and nothing else, that has provoked all this controversy. Yet the entire argument of the Prudential Committee, as it has been presented to the public, has ignored this fundamental issue. I think that a great deal of moral confusion has been caused by this evasion; and I hope that we shall be able here to get the main question clearly before us.

I would not, however, evade the question to which the committee has sought to confine our thoughts. If the Board were simply, in its Home Work, a depository for the receeption of gifts, the ethical principles which should govern its action are not clearly stated by the committee.

It may be granted that gifts which come from unknown sources, uninvited gifts, like those which are dropped upon the contribution plate, may be taken without questioning. To learn the source of all such gifts would be impossible, and we are not advocating absurdities. Offerings that are made without ostentation, before which no trumpets are blown, which expect no recognition, may be freely received, and no possible harm can be done.

But when the giver comes with his gift and asks us to accept it publicly and formally at his hands, the question is very different. "A gift" — I am quoting from a manuscript in my possession — "a gift requiring an act of acceptance differs in several ways from one that obeys the Biblical injunction of not letting the left hand know what the right hand does, in that its effect upon the community at large is to be considered. If the community suffers in its ideals of honesty from such an acceptance, there is a very serious issue raised. Gifts requiring an act of acceptance, and those which do not, belong to different categories; and there is no use in confusing the issue by talking of them as if they differed only as to size. The offering which comes unostentatiously, through the regular channels, can have for which the Board was organized. It is much more than "a corporation to carry on missionary work and to receive gifts for that purpose." In the words of President Tucker: "The Board is not primarily a depository for the reception of unsolicited gifts, nor even an agent or trustee for their disbursement. Primarily the Board, as it exists today, is a powerful organization for the solicitation and direction of funds toward missionary ends. Its work in these regards is as positive and aggressive as its work in the field. Principles one and two virtually ignore the whole matter of solicitation in which present issues for the most part lie." It is this function which we must keep clearly before us in the entire discussion. It is what has been done in the exercise of this function, and nothing else, that has provoked all this controversy. Yet the entire argument of the Prudential Committee, as it has been presented to the public, has ignored this fundamental issue. I think that a great deal of moral confusion has been caused by this evasion; and I hope that we shall be able here to get the main question clearly before us.

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This distinction, by the way, entirely disposes of the contention that we are seeking to prevent unworthy men from doing good with their money. Any rich man who is willing to make his gifts impersonal and secret will find no difficulty whatever in bestowing them.

It is only gifts which require some public recognition of the giver, and which connect themselves with the giver, about which any question can be raised. Every such gift represents the giver. His character is more or less reflected in it. Property, as Hegel has so truly said, is an extension of the personality, and the personality can never be eliminated when gifts are publicly made.

It is often said that one man's dollar is as good as another man's dollar, but that is far from true. One dollar lying in a pile of dollars may be as good as any other dollar in that pile; but one man's dollar is not as good as another man's dollar, because the man is the coefficient of the dollar. What did Jesus say about the poor widow's mite? He said that it was more than all the gifts dropped into the treasury by the rich men. It was worth more to the Kingdom of God. Would you have replied to him that one mite is just as good as another mite, and that since some of those rich men had cast in a thousand mites, their offerings must be worth a thousand times as much as hers? Would you have argued that way with Him? If you believe that there is any truth in what he says then one man's dollar is not as good as another man's. It is not only the man behind the gun who makes the difference: it is the man behind the dollar quite as truly. And the church which loses sight of this distinction, or suffers it to be blurred, is on the way to apostasy.

I believe that I am responsible for the phrase "tainted money," and I wish to defend it as the expression of a most important truth. It has been greatly ridiculed; some of those who agree with me have deprecated the use of it, but I think it conveys a meaning which we must not miss.

If money cannot be tainted, then it cannot be sanctified. I hope we are not yet ready to say that there can be no such thing as consecrated money. I trust that that phrase may yet have a real and an inspiring meaning.

Other material things may become morally tainted. No woman listening to me would wish to accept, as a gift, and wear with the knowledge of her friends, a fur collar or a diamond no unworthy motive attached to it: the public gift may be prompted by many considerations, some good, some bad and others merely indifferent."

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Other material things may become morally tainted. No woman listening to me would wish to accept, as a gift, and wear with the knowledge of her friends, a fur collar or a diamond brooch of Mrs. Cassie Chadwick's. Why not? It may be just as fine a fur or just as genuine a brooch as any she could buy.

But you say that a personal possession like that is different from a gift of money. Yes; the personal connection is more clearly brought to light, but it exists, even in the case of money.

Here is a Congregational church on the prairies of Kansas, which has become deeply and enthusiastically enlisted in the work of foreign missions. It has established classes and circles for mission study; it has organized methods of collecting funds among its men, its women and its children; it keeps in closest touch with all the work on the mission field; the spirit of prayer for missions permeates all its assemblies. Finally it adopts a mission school, somewhere in Turkey, and by the most heroic and self-denying efforts it sends a gift of five hundred dollars for the support of that school.

The teachers and missionaries all know whence the money came; what inspired it and what goes with it. I care not whether the identical dollars and dimes and nickels contributed by the church are sent, or whether the money goes in a draft through a Turkish bank; the source of the gift is known.

Now let us suppose that, one year later, some gambler or keeper of a house of prostitution, moved by motives which we will not explore, sends, with some publicity, to the same mission band the same amount of money; and the missionaries know the source of it.

Is there no difference, to the missionaries, in these two gifts? Shall we say that since one man's dollar is as good as another man's, the five hundred dollars from the gambler's till will do just as much good on the mission field as the five hundred dollars of the praying, loving, consecrated church? I think we all know better.

The one gift comes bringing love and hope and courage with it; every dollar the missionaries use reminds them of the true and tender hearts that are working with them and praying for them: their faith is deepened and their purpose strengthened whenever they think of it.

The other gift brings with it the most painful and depressing thoughts. they may be glad that they have the money to use, but they cannot help remembering how dreadful are the sources from which it has come; how many lies and perfidies and cruelties have gone into the gathering of it, how many souls have been ensnared and defiled in heaping it up.

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One man's dollar is as good as another man's dollar? No such thing as consecrated money? No such thing as tainted money? Nobody says so who is not destitute of moral imagination.

"Money is a symbol" — I am quoting again, at length, from the manuscript of which I spoke — "an outward and visible sign, and if the thing which it symbolizes is worthy, then the gift of it is worthy; if the thing it symbolizes is a thing of darkness and crooked ways, the offer of it is an insult and the reception of it is an immorality. If $100,000 is offered a church the first question to be decided is this: Of what is this money the pledge and token? If it is the sign of hard work, if it tells a story of great energy and much patience, of pluck and endurance, if it means that the possessor of it has refused to be daunted, and has fought a good fight and that his muscles have endured the strain and his heart has not fainted, then it is a very worthy offering, and the man places in our hands a holy and a sacred thing, the very sacrament of his manhood. The offering of it is a credit to him, and the acceptance of it by the church is to be commended.

"If, on the other hand, the money is the outward and visible token of a dishonest career, if the thing it symbolizes is anything that decent men would not touch, if it betokens a life disgraced by remorseless violence and plunder, if it has been wrung from the helpless, and snatched from the unsuspecting, if it is the shameless representation of a combination that crushes our smaller and less powerful combinations, a pirate upon the sea of industrial life, then the offer of that money is a covert sneer, and the acceptance of it stains the hands held out for it. Is there not something ethically wrong and spiritually degrading about accepting for our holy work money that has been made in the devil's way? Is there not a certain blasphemy in thinking that God's work will suffer unless we use such instruments for its advancement as are provided by the enemies of his Kingdom?

"Suppose such a gift could suddenly assume visible shape of that of which it is the representative, and by some kind of chemico-vital process become the thing it is the symbol of, and right there before the eyes of the recipient he could see, in panorama, the lies and the heartlessness, the competitive knife dripping with the blood of innocent victims, the despair of the man who has been crushed to the wall, and robbed of his living, the midnight scheming of the rogue, the thefts committed under the shadow by laws passed to prevent them, — suppose he could see all these foul shapes before him, a sight more hideous than any in the Inferno, think you he would dare accept that for money? Nobody says so who is not destitute of moral imagination.

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God's work? Would he not with unutterable loathing cry out, "Take away that foul thing! God's work is dependent on no such ministering agents!"

Is not that specter visible, even now, in every part of this continent? I think that it is. It may be that there are some who are too blind to see it and some who even count it a ministering angel; but there are millions who behold it in its true light, and whoso minds are filled with amazement, yea and scorn, when they behold the figure of the Bride of Christ drawing near to that horror, and supplicating its aid. Would to God that spectacle could be blotted from the sight of men; but it is there, and no veil of sophistry that we can weave will ever avail to hide it!

I hope I have made plain the truth that money may be and often is a symbol; that it may represent, most vividly, virtuous or vicious character and conduct; and that when it stands for things that are evil and base and cruel, the church must not welcome even voluntary gifts of it. The church cannot do so without compromising herself. The fact that the donor has a legal title to it does not alter the case. To hide behind a bare legality in such a transaction is shameful.

I have dwelt upon this phase of the question, not because it is the real question before us, but because it is the phase of the question which has been continually thrust before us from the beginning of this discussion, and because the ethical principles involved greatly need clearing up. The principles which I have laid down have been recognized in all the ages of the church. It has always been understood that the children of God must not be partakers of the rewards of iniquity. From the old day when the children of Israel were forbidden to bring the hire of a harlot into the congregation of the Lord, and when the Psalmist represented Jehovah as crying out, "I hate robbery for burnt offering," down through the days of the early fathers and even in the mediaeval church, there has been a constant testimony against all partnership or complicity with evil doers in carrying on the Lord's work. The quality and the curse of tainted moneey have been well enough known to the saints of all the ages. Even when mediaeval bandits were acquiring merit by gifts to monasteries, the voice of the church was clear in condemnation. It is to be lamented that these first years of the twentieth century have witnessed the attempt to erase this distinction; to repudiate the symbolical character of money, and to obscure the ethical judgment respecting the use of it which moral teachers have always recognized. It is an unfortunate

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The reception of voluntary gifts is not, however, the question before us. No gifts from compromising sources have been proffered to this Board or are likely to be. The practical issue before us concerns the active solicitation rather than the passive acceptance of gifts. Even granting that "the American Board has not been given the authority to discriminate between those who offer gifts," it is certain that the Board has ample authority to discriminate among those from whom it will solicit gifts. It does discriminate among these persons. It has not gone, and it will not go to great gamblers or liquor sellers soliciting aid. The suggestion that it might intend to do so has been already indignantly repelled as a slander. The legal title of such persons to the property now in their hands may be perfect, but the officers of the American Board will not seek out such persons and invite their co-operation in its work. It will discriminate against them. The right and the duty of making discrimination among those who are invited to contribute to its treasury will not, I dare say, be disputed on the floor. The line is drawn, and will be drawn. The only question is where it shall be drawn.

The Committee say that "investigation by the executive officers to determine the sources from which gifts come is neither justifiable nor practical." However this may be it is certainly competent and wise for them to make some inquiry respecting the character and reputation of the persons to whom they apply for assistance. This is the simple, practical question to which the whole of Principle One and Principle Two must be reduced, and the answer is so obvious that I will not waste a word in arguing it.

Using the discretion which they must use in soliciting donations, there are one or two simple rules by which they should be guided.

In the first place, as we have already seen, they must not seek the co-operation in their work of persons whose gains have been and are being made by scandalous immoralities. About this there is no dispute.

In the second place, they must not invite gifts from persons who are conspicuous enemies of society.

It is a bitter truth that such a class exists among us, and that the nation is now confronting, with anxiety and fear, the problem of restraining its depredations. The class is composed of persons who have rapidly acquired enormous wealth. The enterprise and it will not prosper for God is in his world, even though portions of the church are unaware of it, and the ethical judgments of men are sure to be lifted up and purified.

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The existence of such fortunes is prima facie evidence of social injustice. I think that a man may, by means fairly legitimate, accumulate a considerable fortune, but no man can possibly render to society a kind and amount of service which shall entitle him, within a generation, to heap up for himself a fortune of a thousand million or five hundred millions of dollars. The existence of such fortunes is an enormous peril to a democratic state; they could never have been accumulated, in a democracy, without a great deal of social and political rottenness; and the men who have taken advantage of such conditions, or have, perhaps, helped to create them, in the building of their fortunes, are entitled to be regarded as the most dangerous enemies of society.

These colossal gains have, in all cases, been made by practices which are glaringly unjust and iniquitous. By obtaining control of the public highways and levying tribute on the traffic of competitors, and taxing the necessaries of life for the millions; by corruptly controlling legislatures and city councils and thus obtaining franchises and contracts, by which they are able to extort from the people exorbitant compensation for public service rendered: by enormous inflations of capital, and the dishonest manipulation of the stock and grain markets and by the exploitation of trust funds for private gain, these great accumulations have been made. Most of these practices are flagrantly illegal, those which are not covered by explicit legislation are none the less unjust and oppressive.

The true character of these giant combinations, these grasping monopolies is now pretty well understood by the people at large. It is evident that they must be sharply restrained or our liberties will soon disappear. It is evident that they have narrowed the bounds of individual initiative — that is industrial freedom, and have shut the gates of opportunity upon millions; that they have greatly intensified the strife of classes: above all that they have done more than all other causes put together to corrupt and debauch our governments, municipal, state and national. The vital relation between big business and political corruption has been brought to light most vividly within the past six months. And the deadly damage that has been done to the nation in dulling the sense of business honor and intensifying the passion of avarice no statistics can ever show.

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Against these merciless and portentous powers the conscience of the nation is now pretty well aroused; our president has spoken, again and again, with clearness and emphasis; our ex-President, Mr. Cleveland, has borne strong testimony; the government of the nation and the governments of some of the states are exerting their powers to restrain and punish their transgressors; quite a number of them are now under indictment for crime and many others are dreading it; it begins to be pretty plain that this is not a wind-mill that we are attacking but a strong and dangerous foe to the national life.

What, now, should be the attitude of the church toward men who stand in this relation to the commonwealth? I think that the church cannot afford to cultivate their friendship or seek their co-operation in its work. They may be courteous and cultivated gentlemen, estimable husbands and fathers and constant attendants upon church and prayer meeting, but if their business methods involve a peril to public morality and threaten the public welfare the church must not invite their co-operation in its work.

It must not do so because such solicitation involves an endorsement of them which it has no right to give. If the acceptance of a voluntary gift implies no recognition of the giver, the solicitation of a gift puts the matter upon a different footing. The man himself has a right to infer and the public has a right to draw the same inference, that the church values his friendship and does not disapprove his conduct. No other interpretation can be put upon such an action. The Committee affirms in Principle Three that "by the acceptance of gifts the officers and members (of the Board) are not stopped from criticising the business methods" of donors. Will they say that they would feel entirely free to criticise the business methods of a donor whose gifts they have diligently solicited for the space of two years? I will do them the credit of not imputing to them any such conduct. I know that they do not intend to forfeit the respect of gentlemen. It is the simple historical fact that the business methods of such givers are not criticised by those who have solicited their bounty. When an instance of such criticism is produced we may admit the validity of this contention.

The Church is not wise to solicit the gifts of multi-millionaires because in this quest its own power is apt to be paralyzed and its natural resources dried up. Nothing is more fatal than the habit of dependence on such sources. Even when there is no moral question raised, the exploiting of big donations lessens the interest of the multitude of small givers on whom the work must mainly rest. The gifts of the Congregascience of the nation is now pretty well aroused; our president has spoken again and again, with clearness and emphasis; our ex-President, Mr. Cleveland, has borne strong testimony; the government of the nation and the governments of some of the states are exerting their powers to restrain and punish their transgressors: quite a number of them are now under indictment for crime and many others are dreading it; it begins to be pretty plain that this is not a wind-mill that we are attacking but a strong and dangerous foe to the national life.

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tional churches to missions are less now than they were ten years ago, though their numbers have considerably increased and their wealth has probably doubled. I think that one main cause of this is an increasing tendency to turn to the big givers.

The Baptist churches, according to Dr. Josiah Strong, are giving forty per cent. less now than ten years ago, even counting the much heralded donations of their largest giver. Wise men in that church attribute that shrinkage to these big gifts.

Simply as a matter of economy, therefore, the policy which the Committee is introducing is likely to prove suicidal. But if this policy is followed a moral injury is to be apprehended whose effects will be much more disastrous. The result of cultivating friendship with men of low moral tone cannot be healthful to the work of the Board. Such an exhibit as has been put forth, in connection with this case, of sordid reasons for the propagation of Christian missions illustrates the tendency to which I am calling attention. There is no help in such alliances; there is weakness in them. One can hear the solemn words of the old prophet: "Woe unto them that go down to Egypt for help and stay on horses and trust in chariots because they are many and in horsemen because they are very strong: but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord." "Therefore shall the strength of Pharoah be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion."

A kindred reason why this Board should not make friends with predatory wealth is found in the grief and shame and weakness it brings to the churches whose agent the Board is, with whose life it is identified, and upon whose strength it must rely. This Board is not an independent organization. It is the representative of the Congregational churches. For whatever it does we must bear the responsibility. Of the glorious work it has done, and it has done some of the best work this world has ever seen, we have had the credit. Of the mistakes it has made, and it has made some woeful ones, we have had the blame.

Now, I am aware that there are Congregational churches and Congregational ministers to whom such alliances as we are considering are not offensive. They think them suitable and helpful. I do not judge them. But there are other churches and other ministers, a good many of them, to whom associations of this nature are very unwelcome. I know them, and I have a right to speak for them, for they have told me in many impressive ways what they think, and how they feel. Their judgment is summed up in these words of a veteran missionary now in the field: "It seems to me like countenancing evil-doers in

tional churches to missions are less now than they were ten years ago, though their numbers have considerably increased and their wealth has probably doubled. I think that one main cause of this is an increasing tendency to turn to the big givers.

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But it is not only our feelings that are hurt, our power is weakened. We know what our tasks are, and what are the difficulties before us. We are trying to bridge the chasm that divides the great masses of the working people of this country from the church. It is the one urgent business of the Christian church today. We know that the churches, in the view of these people, are in altogether too close relations with predatory wealth. If we cannot correct this impression we cannot win these people.

"For years," says a professor in one of our leading New England colleges, "I have been seeing more of the wage-earning people of New England. Their alienation from the church is a fact with us. * * * They are watching to see what decision is to be made of this question of tainted money. If the resolution which you have framed as an offset to the statement issued by the Prudential Committee is rejected, in substance or form, at Seattle, we must expect, in this part of the country, to see the workingmen turn their backs upon our churches."

Not upon our churches alone. Such action will affect not merely the Congregational churches. It will be laid up against all the churches. It will be regarded as indicating the attitude which the Christian Church of this country has taken upon this question. And it will send a chill through the frame of every workingman who reads it and widen and deepen the chasm between the church and the entire class of wage-workers. The task of every man who is trying to close up that chasm, and to convince the working people that the church of today is the church of Him who came to preach the gospel to the poor, will be made more arduous, and hope will die in his heart.

Don't tell me I am making too much of a small matter. I know what I am talking about. I have been on the firing line their evil doings to solicit and use funds from them for the work of the churches of Jesus Christ." There are a great many thousands of Congregationalists who share this feeling, but I ask the members of this Board most earnestly to consider whether the gains they are likely to get from these doubtful sources will compensate them for the injury which they are inflicting upon their loyal friends in the Congregational churches. An injury it is, and a shame it is. You may not understand it, but we must be permitted to testify for ourselves. We know when we suffer, and we know when we are ashamed. The honor and the strength of the Congregational churches is dear to us, and when anything is done in their name that offends our sense of honor the shame is ours.

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Don't tell me I am making too much of a small matter. I know what I am talking about. I have been on the firing line in this warfare for a good many years, and I know how the battle is going. The appalling thing about it all is that so many of those who ought to be our leaders know so little and seem to care so little. But I implore you, as one whose experience is entitled to some credit, that you will not, by your action here today, put any more obstacles in the way of those who seek to make the Congregational Church the church of the common people.

I think I have given adequate reasons why the missionary society of the Congregational churches should not cultivate the friendship and co-operation of men who represent the aggregations of predatory wealth which now threaten the life of this republic. It may be asked who these men are. It is not necessary to name them. There are not many of them. It will not be difficult for the officers of the society to learn their names by a little inquiry among their neighbors. With such a caution as the resolution which I am advocating contains, I am willing to leave the matter to the discretion of the Committee.

But I shall be asked whether all rich men are not under the same condemnation. I answer no. There are multitudes of them who are governed by no such purposes. There are thousands and tens of thousands of men in large and active business whose methods are in the main honorable and fair.

It may be true, I think it is true, that there have been evil tendencies among them. Some of them have been sometimes tempted to imitate the schemes of the rebate robbers, and the frenzied financiers; and the church may be partly to blame for this, for the churches and the colleges have been giving their certificates of character to the worst of these offenders, and it could hardly be wondered at if ambitious men sometimes assumed that their methods were laudable and exemplary. We owe to our active business men sounder ethical instruction — not such as is expressed in the moral indifferentism respecting the sources of gifts in the statement of principles before us.

It is sometimes implied that if we are shut out from appeal to these doubtful sources, our resources will be crippled. That is a counsel of cowardice and infidelity. We have our Congregational constituency, and how much more do we need? Are not the people of our churches able to support their own missionary organizations? These are vines of their own right hand's planting, they have watched and watered from the beginning; their heart's love is bound up in them; can we not trust them to see that they are nourished and carried on from strength to strength and from glory to glory? The Congragational people are increasing in numbers, and their financial ability has been growing by leaps and bounds. They are well able to do today, not merely as much as they did ten years ago, but twice as much.

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I have already said that they are failing in this, sadly failing. I am not quite clear as to the reason of this. I am sure that it is not the fault of the officers of this society. They have done strong work, untiring work, patient and wise and efficient work, in trying to bring the claims of the cause which they represent home to the hearts of the people of the churches. If the churches had responded, as they ought to have responded, to their appeals the treasury would have been full, continually, and there would have been no occasion to go outside of our own constituency for the means to carry on our work. Because of this failure the officers of this society have often had to carry a heavy burden of anxiety, and they have been been forced to turn in many directions for the supply of their necessities. If there is fault here, the beginning of blame is with us, and not with them.

When I say "with us," whom do I include? I include the great majority of the Congregational pastors, and the leading laymen of the churches. I include myself. I am as much to blame as anybody. I have done a little, but not much: and I take to myself shame and confusion of face because of it. We ought to make all this philanthropic and missionary work a great deal more central and prominent than it has ever been in the life of our churches. We ought to develope the missionary resources of our churches, and of our local conferences as they have never been developed. We ought to do it, and we can do it. We can go before the people of our churches and say to them: "This work of bringing Christ to the world is our work, and we must do it. The good fight is our fight and we can win it. We are not going down to Egypt after chariots and horses, we will fight it out ourselves. We do not need to discuss tainted money, it is enough to say that we need none of it, for we know where there is plenty of good honest money for all this work. It is the Lord's money, and he shall have what he calls for."

When we face the problem in this way we shall soon find ourselves far beyond the need of discussing the question that has occupied our thoughts today.

Brethren I have said my word, and I call you to witness that it has been spoken, not in anger or bitterness, but soberly and kindly. I have indulged in no personalities, I have aspersed no man's motives. I have been constrained to speak very plainly, for the juncture is a serious one: there are principles at issue which cannot be trifled with, there are interests at stake which ought not to be sacrificed.

Some of you have been kind enough to assure me that I am in a very insignificant minority. That may be; I do not know about that; I leave that to be decided by you. It will not be the first time that I have been in a very small minority, even in this Board; but I have seen such small minorities, in a very few years, grow to overwhelming majorities. "The safe appeal of truth to time," is one on which I have learned to rest with hope, and I therefore commit with confidence what I have said, to you, and to the people of the Congregational churches, and to the sturdy judgment of all honorable men.

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Running Debate Begins[1]

Dr. Gladden was no sooner seated than a running debate began, lasting for two hours, in which every aspect of the question was presented. Those participating in the discussion spoke as follows:

Mr. Metcalf--I beg to suggest that many of us in view of the dropping out of the words from the resolution as originally printed, would be willing to incorporate this resolution with the principles already stated by the board.

Mr. Gladden--I doubt whether you can mix our report.

A voice from the audience asked: "Who is to determine whether these moneys are acquired by means socially injurious or morally reprehensible--who is to determine that. The matter seems to be left entirely in the air. We can heartily agree, I think, with the minority report, but it seems to me useless unless we can tell who is to determine the question."

Mr. Gladden--I will say, those who solicit them. (Applause.) Nobody else had anything to do with it. It is a question of soliciting. Shall the board go in search of men? It is for them to determine as to whether the methods of the men whom they solicit are reprehensible.

Mr. Lowry--As a member of the board I believe that the officers of the board should solicit in the way that Dr. Gladden has requested and they can solicit money from any one. I put it on the higher principle. I believe they can receive the money without any responsibility for the individual who gives it. That individual himself recognizes the propriety of the gift and the work that his money will do, and he takes upon his own conscience the gift of that money. I do not know that any one will agree with me with respect to it or look at the matter from a different point of view. I take it it is the higher point of view and I would like to offer in a few words my testimony. I hope that the American board in common with all other benevolent and philanthropic institutions is a divinely ordained agency.

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[1] Seattle Post - Intelligencer, September 16, 1905

Mr. Moxom--The beauty of the resolution as it is given by Dr. Gladden is its absolute simplicity, its directness, its enunciation of the statement of the principles in which we all believe; no man I am sure can look at that statement in the face without the immediate answer of his conscience. It is a sort of a reaffirmation of the fundamental and logical principles upon which we stand as Christians. If we do not, we have no right to the name. Leave the proposition as it stands. Now, why give bright gold with that gold tarnished? Leave the proposition as it stands. It is a thing of blessing upon all our broad temples and it was never so much as it is today. It is a thing for which we can fight, for which we can do, because it is the spirit of righteousness which the church needs today. The church is suffering and the pressure of the heart is not overflowing as it ought to be. In case of any defect of doctrine or of polity, but because of a defect in fine and sensitive and inflexible loyalty to the fundamental principles of righteousness in the law of life. sic

Chairman--The question is now on the adoption of the original resolution.

Mr. Demning Mr. Dunning, perhaps. --I would ask Dr. Gladden this question, if the resolution is passed as it is now before the house the prudential committee is entirely unadvised as to who the judgment is with. Therefore, whoever is solicited after this resolution is passed by the American board in its work must not have been morally reprehensible or socially injurious. Is that what Dr. Gladden desires the committee to do?

Mr. Gladden--I think it is exactly, that in the judgment of this committee those men's methods are not morally reprehensible or socially injurious.

Mr. Twitchell--Suppose a gathering like this was to appeal to every one for contributions and donations for the work in North China and a rum seller present was seized in his heart to give half million dollars to the work. Would the contribution, according to the meaning of the resolution, be one solicited by the board?

Mr. Gladden--No, sir.

Mr. Twitchell--Oh, I would say in the meaning of the minority report.

Mr. Gladden--No, sir.

Mr. Twitchell--Does that suit you much better?

Mr. Perry--It suits me.

Mr. Gladden--The appeal made to popular audiences is not what I am talking about at all.

Mr. Sheldon--I would like to ask Dr. Gladden a question. What would you have Mr. Rockefeller do with his money?

Will Not Discuss Rockefeller

Mr. Gladden--I don't propose to talk about Mr. Rockefeller. at all.

Mr. Sheldon--May I state the question differently then? What would you have one in the position which has been assumed or referred to in the resolution do with his money?

Mr. Gladden--I have already said in the address all I have to say about the way of getting money. The rich man has a right to give his money away if he does it secretly and without ostentation. If he gives it according to Christ's law, "Let not your left hand know what your right hand does," he can give any amount he pleases. There is no difficulty about it at all. But if he comes with a blare of trumpets and advertises his gifts publicly in the newspapers, then that is another thing.

Mr. Demning--Ought he to be solicited to give it secretly?

Mr. Gladden--No.

Question of Individual

Mr. Thurston--Mr. Moderator and gentlemen, by our action today we are deciding, not an academic question, but a question of an individual. We are judge and jury. The evidence is not all in. Equally honest men feel that the evidence is very conflicting. Some feel the preponderance is on one side and others think it is on the other side. We are to be judge and jury, and we are not asking for the documents. We are almost asking that he plead guilty and then we will examine the documents. As to the question of tying our hands in the future, it is expressly stated in one of the principles enunciated that we do not close our mouths to denounce anything which we believe wrong, but let us remember the difference between denouncing an act, and denouncing a man, and we must be sure that we understand what the act is.

Now, brethren, this is not a question presented to us today and to be decided by us today. It has been presented to us and we have discussed it in every aspect for months. We are to record the decision which we have reached, and before we record the decision let me, as a lover of the Lord, and, as I believe, a lover of righteousness, ask that we extend to each other that honorable and charitable judgment and motive which we wish to have others extend to us. We all agree that we are all seeking the same end, the upbuilding of the kingdom of Christ only by just and righteous means. Let us agree to that. Let us agree that on this and all questions we honestly differ.

It very early came to my observation that every individual meets a case in the course of his life. It may be frequently, where whatever course he takes some will condemn that course.

Adverse Criticism Inevitable

We cannot, whatever decision we make today, avoid the adverse judgment of many people. Let us remember that, and let us say to ourselves whatever judgment is made we expect that it will be disapproved of by many. It is not to be decided by the many, the more or the less, that may disapprove it here today. The question is, what is right, and therefore, what is wise, and when we ask what is right it is not an abstract question of principle, but a question of a concrete case before us. Let us remember that, and whatever decision we make let us remember again. I pray, that the Kingdom will not be stopped in its progress because of some error in judgment. (Applause.) We are loyal, every one of us, to the King. He gives us the principles; we have accepted them; we chose the great principle of bringing His kingdom; we are ready to lay down our treasures and our children that that kingdom may come, and when a great case comes, the Master does not say to us, as he does not today in this concrete case, "You do this or that," he simply says, "Study it, seek to get into sympathy with me, and judge and decide according to your judgment." He leaves us with the knowledge that we shall some of us make mistakes, but he will not, because of our mistakes which we have made in the most intelligent use of our faculties of which we are capable, he will not stop the progress of the kingdom. It will go on, and I beg that we remember that as we make our decision today, and whatever it is simply say, "I will stand by the missionary work, I will give to it my choicest treasures; if I am constrained to feel that this board is not doing its work in a way that shall advance the kingdom I will seek some other, for the kingdom shall come by the help of my endeavors." (Applause.)

C. H. Pitkin, Mr. Moderator: I am sure that I never could compete with the clergymen who have spoken before me, and I arise with a great deal of hesitation to say anything. But as a lay member of the board and corporate member I would like to say that I believe fully most everything that has been said. Now what Mr. Thurston has already said appeals to me in this one word, "academic." I believe it is largely an academic question. We have no right to steal from other people. The question is who is stealing? (Applause and laughter.) Now it might possibly be well for everyone of us here to ask ourselves that question. (Laughter and applause.) There was a time when the Saviour invited the crowd to throw stones. They did not throw them--they went home. Personally I regret that any resolution is before us. I wish they might both be withdrawn (applause). I have known and respected Mr. Gladden--I won't say I know him. I have known of him, but I never have had the pleasure of knowing him personally. I wrote him once when we were trying to get our minister. We were trying to pull him away from another congregation. The question was then, was that reprehensible?

(Laughter and applause.) Now I wrote to Dr. Gladden and said: "What kind of man is this man?" Well, he says, "He is a good man, but I give you warning right now I shall do everything I can to keep you from getting him." Now it might have been reprehensible on Dr. Gladden's part to have taken that attitude. I don't know. At all events we got him. (Laughter and applause.)

Way Out of Dilemma

Now, all joking aside, I am sure every corporate member, every officer of the board, every one of us, want to do the right thing, and as Mr. Thurston has said, no matter what we do or how we decide this question somebody will think we have done the wrong thing. Now, friends, is there not some way we can put this question aside, that we shall not force it to an issue? The American board after nearly a hundred years of glorious history is today suffering for the want of money. Shall we prevent gifts from coming to us by taking one side or the other of what to me does seem still to be something not altogether an academic question? How are we going to get into the inside of a man's heart?

Now, I know, as a business man, I have done things--lots of things--that I could not walk up to St. Peter and justify. (Applause.) What business man is there in this room that has not done it? That is what I would like to know. Maybe some of these ministers have done some few things that they could not justify at the same place, but we need--the great need--today is more money for good things. Mr. Gladden has told us the American board for fifteen years has been, as I say sometimes, marking time. The American board for fifteen years has been doing splendid work.

Means To an End

Now, I know something about it. I have given some time to these problems. I have given a little money according to my means, or something in that proportion. It needs money today. Let us do nothing that will prevent us from getting the seed that will sow deep. From every land comes the cry for more missionaries. Of course, that means more money. Missionaries can't live on air, and they must wear some clothes, although I have seen people who thought they did not need many clothes, in warm countries especially.

I wish, Mr. President, that this question might be put aside. Now, I might say a word to Mr. Gladden. I believe nothing would be lost, Mr. Gladden, if this question were put aside. I am sure the officers of the board are not going to ask--I think that you hit the nail on the head--you say you are to blame and the rest of us are to blame because more money has not come into the coffers of the American board. Let us put aside this question and turn our attention to getting more money in the American board. While I was on my way from the East on the train, the train that came from Boston was joined at Chicago by some of us, and it contained nearly 200 Christian men and women and I believe that we gave more serious thought, careful thought, practical thought, to the problems of the board en route than perhaps was ever given on any similar occasion or on any similar train. I have made a good many pilgrimages to the board, but I never saw so much activity in that line before. We appointed a committee to solicit from every man on that train a gift to the American board. We asked the pastors and those who represented the churches if they would not double their gifts to the American board. We must have it. The American board, by reason of its great work, needs a greatly increased income. The money is here. Dr. Gladden has said it is here--we know it is here. Why don't we get it? It is because the hearts of Christian people are not touched. We are stealing from the Lord. I am not sure but that will apply to every man and woman in this place. We are wearing good clothes, we have all good clothes on our backs, we all eat three meals a day; but we are not putting the money into the coffers of the board.

Rev. J. M. Bradshaw--Mr. Moderator: May I express the feeling of regret which I had on listening to the report of the committee this afternoon in that the two reports were brought before us precisely as they had been presented previously, with nothing like a compromise--if I may use the word compromise--with nothing like a modification of either one of them? The hope had been in my mind that the committee getting together and representing both parties to this question might be able to reach something which would be something in the nature of a solution.

The question has been asked on the floor why these two views may not be combined. I imagine that if this minority report which is now before us was presented for consideration without anything else under consideration, that there is not a corporate brother here would hesitate for a moment in saying, "Why, certainly, that is what we want." If that report stood by itself, as an expression of what the mind and purpose of this board is, no one would question for an instant that we did not want to solicit funds from men whose means had been secured by the methods which have been commented upon. We are all agreed upon that.

Need Soft Soap

Now, is it not possible in some way to combine the elements involved in the statement of principles with this article which Dr. Gladden now presents to us? He has told us oil and water will not mix. We are aware of the fact that by the use of a little alkali we sometimes get soap, and soap is what we want. (Laughter and appluase.)

Now, Mr. Moderator, I move to recommit these two reports to this committee which has already reported to us, asking them to endeavor at least to bring us a report which shall combine the essential principles that are involved in them both.

The Moderator--The question is now upon the recommitment of the two reports to the committee. Are there any remarks?

Rev. P. S. Moxon--Mr. Moderator: I have not spoken on the main question, but would like to speak for a moment on the amendment. I would like to say a word in reference to this proposition, because I hope it will not prevail. Here we have done nothing in this minority report, in this resolution, to fix the scheme upon any individual; we have been absolutely free from personalities; we have had no concern, but the one concern to redeeming ourselves to what we owe to Christ and to the church. It is the quickening of our own conscience. All the admirable and eloquent and humorous and variegated eloquence of the afternoon has missed the point in so many instances. The only argument that has been presented against the resolution is that it will be used as a club by the enemies of the board. We shall want a Diogenes with a good deal better lantern than he had to find an enemy of the board. If we have a searchlight, I don't know where he would find one. There are none in New England. I have heard of none out here and did not see a trace of any crossing the mountains. No, no. We need to take ourselves in hand and hold up before ourselves that principle which is in danger today because of the dulling of conscience and the dimming of the eyes and the deadening of the ears through the siren music of money, money, money! Money is the king that sits upon the throne in so many places today that it is time for us to call a halt and remind ourselves that we are the servants of one who had not where to lay His head and who never told us to go after Dives and get his money for missionary work.

Dr. Penrose's Stand

President Penrose--Mr. Moderator: When the meeting of the American board was announced for Seattle I felt that the meeting would have a great and lasting influence on the missionary cause on the Pacific coast. Now, I should have no objection whatsoever to the passage of the minority report as it stood by itself, if it was unambiguous, as Dr. Moxom has said, but under these circumstances it seems to me to be very ambiguous and liable to commit us to very grave misunderstandings. Because, therefore, I desire that this meeting of the American board may devote itself to the putting forward of the missionary cause to the people of the Pacific coast, and because I think this matter under discussion is no longer profitable, I move that this whole matter be laid upon the table.

The President--Under our rules that motion is not subject to debate. Remember what you are doing, and that only the corporate members now can vote. All in favor of laying this upon the table will say aye; all opposed no. (At this juncture a rising vote was taken.) It seems to be a vote, but the chair is in doubt. Will those who wish to have it laid upon the table stand until they can be counted? The clerk will count the votes. The vote is 46 to lay it upon the table and 10 opposed, which disposes of the question under our rules.

Following are the texts of the majority and minority resolutions over the adoption of which the debate was waged, resulting in the tabling of both:

Majority Resolution

"Whereas, The prudential committee, in its circular letter of August 8, 1905, submitted for the consideration of the corporate members a series of principles which, in its judgment, should govern the action of the board in the matter of gifts, to which answer was made by a large majority of such corporate members approving such statement, and which statement of principles is as follows:

"1. Organized as a corporation to carry on foreign missionary work and to receive gifts for that purpose, the American board has not been given the authority to discriminate between those who offer such gifts, and thereby to judge the character or reputation of the donors. It is not a beneficiary from the gift, but only an agent or a trustee for others.

"2. While the board cannot properly accept money from one to whom any of its officers knows it does not belong, it cannot, on the other hand, properly decline to receive money from its legal owner, provided it is given for the purposes for which the board was established and in accordance with its rules. In the absence of legal proof to the contrary, it is necessary to assume that money belongs to the person making the gift. Investigation by the executive officers to determine the sources from which gifts come is neither justifiable nor practicable.

"3. By acting under the above principles, which require the receiving of gifts without compelling its officers to trace the manner in which the donor may have acquired them, the board pronounces no judgment on the character of donors. Nor by the acceptance of gifts are its officers or members stopped from criticising business methods, or from persistently raising their voices in behalf of the application of the principles of righteousness in all department and walks of life.

"4. The officers of this board, as of all similar boards organized to promote religion, philanthropy and education, are morally bound to use every legitimate means to secure and convert money from other uses into the direct service of advancing the kingdom of God in the world. It is for the good of all that the way should be made easier, and not more difficult, for all to give of their present possessions and increasing wealth for the noblest purposes.

"Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the aforesaid principles be and the same are hereby approved.

Dr. Gladden's Substitute

The resolution offered by Dr. Gladden was as followed:

"Resolved, That the officers of the board should not invite nor solicit donations to its funds from persons whose gains are generally believed to have been made by methods morally indefensible or socially injurious."

TAINTED MONEY

By Washington Gladden[1]

The novelists have been dealing rather freely of late with the question respecting the kind of human beings which the present plutocratic regime is producing. What breed of men is coming out of our gigantic commercial operations? What manner of society does it all produce? What are the habits, sentiments, standards of judgment, forms of social enjoyment, which prevail in these circles? Mrs. Burton Harrison has been trying to answer these questions for us; so has Mr. Marion Crawford, and Mr. Charles Dudley Warner, and so have others. One striking contribution to this discussion is Sir Walter Besant's story, "Beyond the Dreams of Avarice." It is the tale of an ill-gotten fortune and of its influence upon the lives of all who sought to gain possession of it. The old miser, the last proprietor, under whose sordid and infamous manipulations the estate had been twice or thrice doubled, and who had driven his own children from their home by his avarice, dies, apparently intestate, in one of the first chapters, and leaves a property of enormous proportions--enormous for England, only moderate for America--some twelve million pounds. The property, unless an heir appears, escheats to the State; but there is an heir--a grandson, a young physician and rising man of science--who knows himself to be the heir, though the knowledge is shared by no one except his young wife and his lawyer. His father, who had cut himself loose from a family whose traditions were all accursed, and had changed his name and made for himself an honorable reputation, had charged him on his death-bed not to touch that tainted wealth; and when he learns that there is no will, and that the property is legally his, his first inclination is to heed his father's counsel and never reveal his identity. For a considerable time he maintains this resolution, supported therein by his wife, whose intuitions never waver. The whole history of the family becomes known to them; the steps by which the fortune has been amassed are shown them; and the record is one of appalling cruelty and perfidy. Evidently a curse has fallen on all who have had anything to do with the money, from the founder of the house to the last representative. And yet the knowledge that he can, by saying the word, step in and take all this fabulous wealth and make himself rich beyond the dreams of avarice, soon casts its spell over the life of this young physician. Everybody knows the infamy of all the previous possessors of this plunder--his grandfather included; for after the miser's death the newspapers unearthed the family secrets and spread the whole sickening story before the gaze of the world. To take the fortune is to be the inheritor of that infamy. "But, after all," he began to argue, "how am I to blame for the acts of my ancestors? And is it not true that this generation has ceased to be squeamish about the sources of wealth? Should I, after all, lose much social caste on account of the crimes of my forbears? Would not a man with so much money be likely to become an important personage in society, no matter how the money may have been gotten? And then, the good that could be done with it! The great college of science that it would build! The immense enterprises that could be endowed for the enlightenment of mankind!" So the dream wrought upon him, and the effect was melancholy. All his interest in his profession was lost; his nature grew hard and cynical; his moral sense was blunted; all his ideals were dethroned.

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[1] Washington Gladden, "Tainted Money," The Outlook, LII (November 30, 1905), 886-887.

Other claimants soon appeared--grandnephews and grandnieces, who, not knowing of the existence of the direct heir, began to gather like moths to a candle. To every one of them the attempt to secure this property brought harm and shame; the nearer they came to it the more sordid grew their natures and the more disturbed their thoughts; lives that had been peaceful and prosperous felt the blight of this Mountain of Mammon as soon as they came within its shadow. And the story makes it easy to see why this must have been; it was no result of superstition; it was a clear case of cause and effect.

It is not necessary to tell the story, but the psychological study is full of suggestion. One is able to see that money secured by extortion or by crime must carry a curse with it to all who, seeing the blood-stains upon it, covet it for themselves. The question of tainted money is a question that this generation must face. There are vast heaps of it on every side of us--accumulations that have been made by methods as heartless, as cynically iniquitous as any that were employed by Roman plunderers or robber barons of the Dark Ages. In the cool brutality with which properties are wrecked, securities destroyed, and people by the hundreds robbed of their little all to build up the fortunes of the multi-millionaires, we have an appalling revelation of the kind of monster that a human being may become. Much of this wealth has been gained by the most daring violation of the laws of the land, by tampering with courts of justice; by the bribery of city councils or legislatures, and even of Congress itself; by practices which have introduced into the body politic a virulent and deadly poison that threatens the very life of the Nation. That many of the largest fortunes in this country have some such origin all intelligent men know. Is this clean money? Can any man, can any institution, knowing its origin, touch it without being defiled?

We often hear it said that the money of Dives is just as good as any other man's money; that if he will only make over some portion of his wealth to us we will find good uses for it and ask no questions about where he got it. Is this a safe principle? Suppose we know that the money was stolen, and from whom it was stolen; should we be justified in accepting it? Should we not be partakers of the crime? If we are morally certain that it was obtained by some kind of robbery, legalized or otherwise, yet do not know from whom it was wrested, is our complicity any less real?

In truth, the gold and the silver that have been obtained by wrong are corroded with a rust which eats the flesh like fire. Every man who covets such gains passes under their cuse. Money is not a mere material entity. Its character is symbolic and representative. It always stands for something. It is either the reward of productive labor, of honest commerce, or it is the sign of injustice and fraud. To separate the money from the history of the processes by which it was won is not practicable. To wish for ill-gotten gains is to condone the wrongs by which they were obtained.

Even if this reasoning be thought fanciful, no man can eliminate the personal factor which always enters into the problem. To accept the reward of iniquity is to place upon our lips the seal of silence respecting its perpetrators. Those who recognize no responsibility for the maintenance of public virtue may wear such a muzzle without discomfort; but it would seem that public teachers, of all sorts, should be unwilling to put it on.

Money that has been gained by nefarious methods is often brought to the door of the church, and those who bring it seldom fail of a warm welcome. The liberal contribution can hardly be refused; will not such charity cover a multitude of sins? If this malefactor has done evil in the past, ought we not to be glad that he now seems to be of a better mind? And this money will go just as far in "supporting the Gospel" as any other man's money. Why should we hesitate about taking it? Think of the good that may be done by turning this wealth--which men say has been gotten by iniquity--into channels of mercy! If the liberal donor happen to conceive a special fondness for the parson, and there are handsome gifts now and then, and suggestions of European tours, all this reasoning gains in cogency.

Of course, under such circumstances, the pulpit of this church is not likely to discuss the kind of iniquity by which this money was gained, nor anything near akin to it. It would be extremely ungrateful--it would, indeed, be dishonorable--for this pulpit to touch upon such matters. Having sought and welcomed these liberal donations, it is simply the dictate of ordinary decency to refrain from criticising the financial methods of the donor. People might charge that this plutocrat had stipulated that nothing should be said in the church about his practices, but that is a crude conception; of course he has said nothing about it; nothing has been said by anybody; nothing needs to be said. This minister has never promised that he will be silent on themes of this character; it is not necessary for him to make any promise; the situation speaks for itself; if he has the instincts of a gentleman, he will not assail the man who has put him under such obligations.

This pulpit, then, will have no message respecting wrongs of this particular kind. And, inasmuch as it would seem rather inconsistent to attack other closely related social wrongs and avoid these, this pulpit will probably abstain from all reference to public evils. It will confine itself to what is known as "the simple Gospel"--to a purely abstract religionism which has little or nothing to do with life in this world, but which confines itself to the preparation of men for the world to come. The kind of preaching which Isaiah and Jeremiah and Amos and Paul and James practiced will not be heard from this pulpit. Its moral power will be paralyzed. Its influence upon the social life of the community will be practically nil. Or, if it stands for anything at all, its silent testimony will support the iniquities by which the foundations of the social order are undermined.

Such is the effect of tainted money upon the life of a church. When it is coveted and sought, when those who bring it to the altars of the church are courted and made welcome, consequences like these are simply inevitable.

Similar results must needs appear in the life of a college built on such foundations or largely dependent on resources of this character. Not a little of this tainted money has been turned into the channels of the higher education. It seems to have been assumed by many of those who have this work in charge that all money is pure and holy, and that just as much good can be done with the money of a robber as with the money of an honest merchant or manufacturer. It seems even to have been regarded as a meritorious achievement to pave the highways of learning with the price of blood.

It is passing strange that the implications and consequences of such an alliance should be ignored or disregarded. Is it not plain that an institution which accepts subsidies from notoriously iniquitous sources, by this act virtually resigns the privilege of bearing testimony against such iniquities? When we enter into partnership with corruptionists and extortionists in the business of education, we must, in common decency, refrain from turning round and abusing our partners. Whatever public teaching may be needed respecting the evil conditions out of which this fortune has sprung, this college, at least, can offer none. It is foolish to say that the donor has imposed no restrictions upon the teaching; certainly not; there is not the least need of it. Some things can be taken for granted, among gentlemen. It would be utterly dishonorable for an institution thus founded, or largely befriended, to enter into a thorough investigation of the methods by which its endowments were accumulated. The teaching might deal, in an abstract way, with social subjects; but it could not examine historically and scientifically certain burning questions of its own neighborhood and generation. Its instructors will be constrained to say to themselves--perhaps to one another--"All this is valuable and necessary work, but this is not the institution where such work can be done." Think of a college--above all, a "Christian" college--putting itself in such an attitude as this before the world!

But this is not all. An institution thus allied must needs pay honor to those whose benefactions it is sharing. There will be a place, and a high place, at its feasts for the men to whom it owes so much. Glowing words of eulogy will not be wanting. The young men of the institution who look and listen will thus be aided in forming their theories of life. The whole world will see who it is that these Christian scholars and leaders of the people delight to honor. So it is that public opinion is formed, and that men who are the pirates of industry and the spoilers of the state are advanced to the front rank in modern society.

Is it true that one man's money is worth as much as another's to a church or a college? Is it not rather true that there is a great deal of money with which the hands that are seeking to do the will of God must never defile themselves? For much of this money, under all sound ethical standards, must be considered as stolen money. And do our churches and colleges need to be told that the partaker is as bad as the thief?

But it may be said that a great deal of the money in circulation comes from questionable sources. Fraud and falsehood and extortion, we are told, play a large part in the building of many fortunes. Much of the money that comes into our hands has been tainted by methods of which we are not aware. This may be true; but so long as we are not aware of the evil sources, we are not contaminated. It is impossible for us to investigate the business of all our neighbors; it is our duty to assume that they are honest until there is good evidence to the contrary. But when their transactions are flagrant and notorious, we may at least decline to enter into partnership with them in the business of religion or of education. There is enough of clean money in the country--money that has been gained in honest trade or productive industry--to furnish the churches and the colleges with all necessary resources.

Really--must it be said?--money is not the first requisite of a great church or a great college. Some things are more important. Is it not well for churches and colleges to ask themselves what these things are? What shall it profit a church or a college if it shall gain the whole world and lose its own life?

Nov. 26. 1904

~~What~~ We look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal. — II [illegible] 18.

We hav[illegible] millionaire's religion, the wor[illegible]s religion, the home-maker's religion, the student's religion and the teacher's religion; to-night we wish to study the religion of a gentleman.

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Nov. 26, 1905

~~While~~ We look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal: — II Cor IV, 18.

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I am aware that there is an impression in some minds that there is

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no place for gentlemen in a democratic society. There are those who appear to think that refinement of manners and of behavior, and dignity and gentleness are offensive affectations which ought to be frowned upon; that nobody ought to aspire to be anything but a ~~p~~ boor. There is always a tendency to drag democratic society down to the level of its lowest class, and there are always those who ~~co~~ court popularity by yielding to that tendency. But the truth is that in the ideal democracy every man is a gentleman. The qualities which make up the character of a a gentleman or, indeed, ~~as we shall see~~, the elements that must rule in a true democracy; when they are wanting the democracy falls into corruption and decay.

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Doubtless there are many inadequate ~~concep~~ definitions of the term gentleman; if it meant no more than some make it mean there could be no room for ~~it~~ him in democratic society. ¶ It is sometimes imagined that a gentleman is an idle person; that no one who engages in any kind of useful work can wear the title. But the truth is that an idle person cannot be a true gentleman.

It is sometimes supposed that a gentleman must always have white and soft hands: that any kind of toil which hardens the hands unfits a man to be a gentleman. That, too, is a crude conception; we must look at the heart, rather than the hands.

It is sometimes believed that a gentleman must needs be somewhat exclusive in his associations: that he can have nothing in common with the common people. But nothing can be further from the truth than this.

"There were childish people," says Mr. Dole "who always judged a man by the clothes that he wore. They asso-

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called a certain ~~kind~~ style of dress with the gentleman as distinguished from the peasant or workman. We are used in America to finding gentlemen in overalls, working in shops, driving wagons or ploughs, running locomotives, or standing at the helm on shipboard. We may know real ladies who take in washing. Our aristocrats show their good sense in wearing whatever befits their work." ~~Bring the prince out of his disguise and all men will recognize him.~~[4]"

And the same writer goes on: "It can hardly ~~be~~ need to be said that the possession of money has nothing to do with the real character of the gentleman. Who really thinks this in our

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modern world? What of a man has made his millions, and lives in a palace and runs a steam yacht? Let him be coarse in his tastes, overbearing in his manners, tyrannical to his workmen, and we hear the world presently say: "Yes, he is rich, but he is no gentleman." As for women, no amount of furniture, ostentation or glitter of jewels, will cover the subtle distinction between the sham and the real lady."

In fact I think we may say that while many men of wealth have been ~~true~~ and are true gentlemen, ~~that~~ the acquisition of wealth is apt to be more of a hindrance than a help to the

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~~Acquisition~~ cultivation of those qualities which constitute the gentleman. For the strong tendency, in those who are devoting their lives to the acquisition of wealth, is to make everything else subordinate to money — to make that the supreme thing — and that is what no man with the instincts or the habits of a gentleman could ever think of doing.

Having cleared away these misconceptions, let us see whether we can gain some ~~definite~~ positive idea of the kind of person to whom we rightly give this name.

~~Perhaps~~ There is some one known to each one of us ~~whom he~~ who

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is entitled to deserves. ~~to be known as a true gentleman.~~ "bear without abuse the grand old name of gentleman." Let us place him, in our imagination, in certain ~~positions~~ situations where his character will be ~~tested~~ tried, and see how he behaves.

An emergency has arisen in which his veracity is tested. He is questioned with respect to a certain matter, ~~with respect to~~ of which he has knowledge — questioned by those who have a right to know the truth. It is his interest to conceal or ~~misstate~~ the facts. He would save himself trouble, ~~of~~ unpopularity, loss, by telling a falsehood. What does he do? He tells the truth of course. You know that he will. If he did not he would not be a gentleman - That is the ~~very~~ foundation of a gentleman's character.

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You watch him in a social assembly. He is courteous to every one; he listens ~~attentively~~ respectfully to what each one is saying, and replies kindly; he is interested in other people's interests and is mindful of their happiness: the humble people and the shy people are entirely at home in his presence.

But there is no effusiveness; no pretense of an interest that he does not feel. He does not beslaver you with insincere compliments: he does not gush over you; he does not try to make you think that you are his very dearest friend, if you are not. Because he is a gentleman he is kind and sympathetic and courteous; and because he is a gentleman he is sincere; he is not a hypocrite.

You follow him through all his relations with his fellow men, and find him always frank, and manly, and fair in his judgments and treatment of others. If he happens upon a group of people who are rehearsing scandal about their neighbors behind their neighbor's back, you expect him to turn his back on them. He is one of those "who speak no slander, no, nor listen to it,"

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He is a gentleman.

There is nothing underhanded about him. He is not a sneak. He never wrote an anonymous letter in his life, criticizing or assailing his fellow man. If he has anything of that nature to say he says it openly or signs his name to it.

You have seen him placed in situations where, by combination with others, or by discreet silence, he might have aided in pushing another man out of a good place and in securing ~~[illegible]~~ it for himself. Can you conceive of his profiting in that way by any other man's misfortune? You know that

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he would hate himself if he could think of such a thing. He is a gentleman.

~~You have seen him~~ Here is a gigantic evil doer,—one of the men who, by nefarious ~~methods~~ combinations have trampled thousands down to exalt and aggrandize them~~self~~selves. For some reason or other best known to himself this man wants the alliance of ~~this~~ your friend ~~of yours~~ and offers him a great sum of money, either for his own use, or for some cause in which he is interested. Will he take it? No: he cannot be bribed with money to be a ~~partner with~~ companion of thieves or a partner with extortionists. He knows that there are some goods that money will not buy and some losses for which money cannot compensate. He knows that he could not ~~take~~ accept this man's money without treating him with respect and honor, and sealing his 13 lips to his iniquities.

A gentleman cannot put himself under obligation to a man whose character he despises and whose deeds he is bound to denounce. Especially when he ~~knows~~ has some good reason to believe ~~that the gift~~ favor granted is meant to purchase his silence and complaisance, he will spurn it as an insult to his manhood.

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~~He~~ Some one who does not belong to his party or his church, who has been his critic or his opponent, perhaps his enemy is maligned in his presence; false and ~~malicious~~ injurious words are spoken about him: does he assent? Does he keep silence? No: he speaks out indignantly. "This man is no friend of mine," he says; "I owe him nothing but justice: that is due from me to every man. You shall not lie about him; against your malicious detraction I stand with him."

He is witness to some act of injustice or cruelty, the oppression or degradation of one who is weak or ignorant or friendless. Does he stand and look on complacently: does he pass by on the other side? No: he rebukes ~~and~~ the wrong and if need be resists it: he ~~will not~~ takes his stand with the weak, as against the strong. He is the ~~one~~ ~~man~~ man whom the old prophet foresaw — ~~the [illegible]~~ A strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in his distress, — ~~Man shall be as~~ a hiding place from the wind and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place; as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." He is a strong tower into which the helpless and the friendless may run and be safe. *

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It is hardly needful that I should draw out these illustrations: I have by no means exhausted ~~all~~ the conditions under which this man would exhibit the quality of a gentleman; I might go on all night without completing the picture; but I have said enough ~~t show~~ indicate the elements of the character of a true gentleman. And while there are a great many other true things which could be said about him, this one thing will, I think, be found to be central, – that to ~~him~~ him the supreme good of life is character, – manhood and womanhood; ~~a are the~~ that he values this for himself above all other things, and ~~he~~ respects it equally in others. It is the perfection of character that he honors, – a full rounded manhood and womanhood – in which strength and integrity are joined with grace and beauty. This is with him the principal thing. To be the man ~~that~~ God means him to be, to

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help all others to become the men and women that God means them to be — this is the aim to which his life is devoted.

Of course this means that in his life the spirit will rule the flesh, and that ~~the~~ the ideal will subjugate and control the material; that what Paul calls the law of the mind will be enthroned, and that the law of the members will be held in subjection.

Why will he not lie? Because a lie, which might promote his business interests, or protect him from annoyance, or prevent some loss of popularity would hurt his character, — would undermine his integrity.

Why will he not gush over people

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in whom he does not feel a special interest? Because ~~he~~ insincerity ~~is~~ enfeebles manhood.

Why will he not write an anonymous letter? Because it is the act of a coward, and the man who does it, even if he is never detected in it, lowers himself in his own estimation — degrades his own manhood.

Why will he not plot to push another from his place that he may improve his own fortunes. Partly because the welfare of the other man is as dear to him as his own, partly because such an unfair act ~~of~~ would ~~forever~~ make him forever ashamed of himself.

Why will he not accept favors from one whom he regards as a public enemy, whom he is bound to denounce and oppose? Because it is a mean thing to take a ~~[illegible]~~ man's ~~mone~~ money in your left hand when you intend ~~mean~~ to smite him with your right hand, and because it is an ~~of~~ infinitely meaner thing to accept ~~his~~ gifts which are meant to silence your testimony against evil doing, or are likely to have that effect. There is no other operation in which a man's character is more subtly or more swiftly undermined.

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Why will he not have any -

past with backbiters? ~~or stand~~ Because the backbiter is a coward, and cowardice is the antithesis of manhood.

Why will he not stand by and see the weak and the ignorant ~~die~~ wronged or despised? and why does he always treat the poor and the humble with courtesy? Because he recognizes the manhood of every man and the womanhood of every woman as the one unspeakably precious thing; and and will do nothing, nor consent to anything which tends to depreciate that ~~good gift~~ royal possession or to hinder its development.

There is an old Latin proverb which

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says: "The greatest reverence is due to a boy." — "Maxima reverentia pueris debetur." But just as much is due to a girl, or to a man or a woman. It is to the human soul that the ~~honor~~ reverence is due. A sacred and divine thing is humanity, wherever you find it, no matter how rough may be the garb it wears, no matter how sadly it is deformed and defiled by ignorance and sin. The recognition of this fact, and the regulation of all his conduct by it, is the essential quality of a gentleman. His own manhood he will not debase or ~~lower~~ assail: he keeps his eye fixed on the ideal and does not mean to ~~[illegible]~~ fall

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short of it. And the dignity and the freedom and the nobility of soul which he covets for himself, he recognizes as the ideal for every other human being, and he will do what he can to defend every man's right to it and to secure every man in the possession of it.

~~And~~ It is manifest also that his whole life finds its motive in the realm of the ideal. It is the man whom he ought to be who is always before his mind's eye — not the man that he is. There is a standard of truth and justice and honor — above him and beyond him — by which he judges his

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life, and to which 23 he seeks to bring it into conformity. He is always saying what Paul said — even if he never heard of Paul: I count not myself to have apprehended, but this one thing I do, — forgetting the things that are behind and stretching onward to the things that are before, I press toward the mark of the prize of my high calling.

It is the ideal, also, in the lives of others, which he honors. ~~and~~ It is the possibilities that he discerns in ~~those~~ the lives of the humblest and meanest that give the law to his conduct. He takes off his hat to the man who

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ought to be, and it helps you to discern that possibility for yourself and to move toward it. The true gentleman lifts every life that he touches ~~by the unconscious influence of his~~ because he naturally and unconsciously idealizes them.

It is evident therefore that he is one who looks not at the things that are seen, but at the things that are unseen. That is the habit of his mind. His life moves in a region above the range of the physical senses. He gets his motives and his inspirations out of ~~a~~ the world ~~where the bodily eye does not see~~ of spirit. Truth, justice, honor, courage, sincerity are not things of sense. Yet to the true gentleman these are the real things. He believes in these a great deal more than he believes in anything that the senses can discern or enjoy. It is this faith, more than anything else, that makes him a gentleman.

If this is true, it would seem that the gentleman would naturally be a religious man. For the one thing that he needs is the freshening and illumination of his ideals; and God is the archetype of all our ideals; in him they are united. There is no way in which a man can so surely get his love of truth ~~[illegible]~~ deepened, his passion for justice confirmed, his ~~honor~~ sense of honor

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quickened, his courage invigorated, his manliness strengthened as by opening his mind to the Spirit who comes to reveal to us the Christ.

Besides, if a gentleman's central motive is what we have found it to be, the completion and perfection of his own manhood, and the recognition of the manhood of every other man and the womanhood of every woman, – that is the end and aim of all religion. That is what salvation means. He is a coworker with God, and he ought to recognize that fact, and make that cooperation conscious and voluntary.

~~We say that~~ A true gentleman would naturally be a ~~gentleman,~~ religious man: if he fails to be, it is because

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he misconceives the nature of religion; he has got some inadequate or distorted conception of it. It was old Dekker, ~~I think~~ was it not?, who said that Jesus Christ was the first true gentleman that ever breathed. ~~I think it~~ Certainly we must admit that he was the most perfect gentleman of history. And I am sure that the conception of the character of a gentleman which we have been studying to-night can be traced directly to him.

Shall we say, then, that every true Christian must needs be a gentleman? Yes: every one who comprehends the ~~real clear~~ meaning of salvation through Christ and permits Christ to do for

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him all that he came to do, will be a gentleman. ~~Every~~ The work of Christ is designed to make perfect men — perfect as individuals, perfect in their relations to others; and the man who has attained to that perfection [illegible] is exactly what we mean by a gentleman. Of course there are many who have a very crude and inadequate notion of salvation; and therefore there are a great many people in all our Christian churches who lack a great deal of being gentlemen.

We are right in wishing that every gentleman would be a Christian disciple; because we believe that it would help him to be a more perfect gentle-

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man, and we are also justified in wishing that every Christian disciple would become a gentleman, because we are sure that many of them would then become much better Christians. In fact, it seems to me, that one great need of the Christian people of this generation is that they should accept much more fully than they yet have done, the principles which we have found lying at the foundation of the character of the true gentleman. These principles are elements of the essential Christianity, but they need emphasis and development just now.

By this I mean that there is a

loud call in the Christian churches ~~f~~ for a higher style of idealism than that which now prevails. We want Christian men, Christian leaders, who have more faith in ideas and in ideals, and who are less in bondage to expediency and the low motives of materialism.

In short, there is reason to fear, that in this commercial age, with the whole population going mad in its quest of money; with the church itself is in great danger of putting an emphasis upon its need of money which will well conceal from its own vision the secret of its power and greatly weaken its influence. It is true that money can be used in

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promoting the proper work of the church, and when it is kept in its ~~proper~~ place it may ~~be a~~ serve a useful purpose. But when it becomes our main reliance, and we feel that everything depends on it, and that we are helpless without it,– that our success is measured by the amount of money we can command, the hour of peril has come.

I fear that this tendency is very strong among us. We are thinking far too much about the material conditions of our work – about fine buildings and attractive furniture, about our revenues and our resources; ~~at about the~~ I fear that as ministers

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are sometimes a great deal more anxious about these things than we are about the spiritual conditions: I fear that in all our work this interest which ought to be subordinate, tends to be paramount and engrossing. The consequence is that we sometimes sacrifice the interests of truth and humanity ~~justice~~ and pure and undefiled religion to material ~~the~~ interests. ~~of~~ ~~We are begining to think that~~ We think so much about the good that we could do with money, that we never have much time to think about the good that we can do without it, nor about the harm that we may do in lowering our standards to get it. We thus come perilously near the

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doctrine that the end justifies the means.

Money seems to us a thing so indispensable in our Christian work that we are fain to ~~think~~ ~~to~~ stifle any convictions of truth or righteousness that may stand in the way of obtaining it. "We can do so much good with the money," we say!

It is just here that we need to call into our counsels the Christian gentleman. From him it is needful to ~~learn~~ accept the suggestion that ~~that~~ we cannot afford to enter into alliance with one whose conduct we are bound to ~~resist~~ denounce and oppose. We cannot accept favors from one whom we ought to resist as a public enemy. It is dishonorable to do it. No gentleman ever does it. And we, in our administration of the ~~ha~~ high trusts committed to us, must not ~~sink~~ fall below the standards of a Christian gentleman.

With respect to the particular case now before our minds there is this ~~[illegible]~~ to say. The money proffered to the American Board of Missions comes out of a collossal estate whose foundations ~~[illegible]~~ were laid in the most relentless rapacity known to modern commercial history. The success of this business from the beginning until now has been largely due to unlawful and outrageous manipulation of ~~th~~ railway rates. The whole country is now up in arms against this species of robbery. It has a right to be. It has been a long time waking up to this enormity. It is to this cause — far more than to any other — that the monopolies which have been grinding the life out of our industries owe their power.

The United States Government is now engaged in a strenuous attempt to ferret out ~~detect~~ and punish this injustice. And the people of the United States have a tremendous battle on their hands with the corporate greed which has entrenched itself in this ~~place~~ Springfield, and has learned to use the railways for the oppression and spoliation of the people.

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The man who has ~~taught~~ given our missionary society this gift ~~has been~~ is the great organizer and promoter of this system of plunder. His fortune was built on this foundation. He has taught the other plunderers most of what they know about these methods. ~~He is identified with~~ He represents, more perfectly than any one else the system of brigandage by which our commerce has been ravaged for many years.

~~The Congregational church~~

This system must be attacked and overthrown, if we want to save free government. In every such battle for freedom and righteousness the Con-

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gregational churches have borne their part. Their place today is in the ~~front of the battle~~ firing line. ~~If Anti-Christ is represented in this country, he is in the~~ And now, on the eve of the battle, they are asked to accept a great ~~fo~~ gift of money from the man who more perfectly than any one else represents the system which they are bound to fight, — the injustice and oppression which they are ~~leagued~~ called to overthrow.

I hope they are not mean enough to take his money and then turn around and fight him. I hope they are not so faithless to their highes

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obligations as to take his money, ~~and~~ and shut their mouths or become his apologists.

We do not want his money. We cannot always ~~take~~ be sure that ~~all~~ the money which comes to us comes from clean sources, and I am not urging any quixotic tests; but when we know ~~that~~ money has been wrongfully gained, and that the acceptance of it must tend to seal the lips ~~the~~ which ought to testify against a public wrong and a public enemy, then we are traitors if we take it. We do not want this man's money. It ~~is~~ is to be applied, we are told in the ~~establishment~~ maintenance of colleges in mission fields. Do we wish to ~~teach~~

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have the young people of these colleges taught to repeat this man's name as that of a great benefactor and exemplar? It would be better to close them permanently.

We do not want this man's money. To accept it will be to merit the contempt of millions of honest men: to reject it will strengthen our churches in the affection and respect of ~~all~~ millions who are inclined to doubt whether the churches love God more than Mammon. Our missions will be richer and stronger without it than with it; and, as sure as God is God, we shall lose nothing by our loyalty to the things unseen and eternal

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"THE RELIGION OF A GENTLEMAN"[1]

We look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal. II Cor 4:18.

We have studied the millionaire's religion, the workingman's religion, the homemaker's religion, the student's religion, and the teacher's religion; tonight we wish to study the religion of a gentleman.

I am aware that there is an impression in some minds that there is no place for gentlemen in a democratic society. There are those who appear to think that refinement of manners and of behavior, and dignity and gentlemen are offensive affectations, which ought to be frowned upon; that nobody ought to aspire to be anything but a boor. There is always a tendency to drag democratic society down to the level of its [sic] lowest class, and there are always those who count popularity by yielding to that tendency. But the truth is that in the ideal democracy every man is a gentleman. The qualities which make up the character of a gentleman are, indeed, the elements that must rule in a true democracy. When they are wanting, the democracy falls into corruption and decay.

Doubtless there are many inadequate definitions of the term gentleman. If it meant no more than some make it mean, there could be no room for him in a democratic society.

It is sometimes imagined that a gentleman is an idle person; that no one who engages in any kind of useful work can wear the title. But the truth is that an idle person cannot be a true gentleman.

It is sometimes supposed that a gentleman must always have white and soft hands; that any kind of toil which hardens the hands unfits a man to be a gentleman. That, too, is a crude conception; we must look at the heart, rather than the hands.

It is sometimes believed that a gentleman must need be somewhat exclusive in his associations; that he can have nothing in common with the common people. But nothing can be further from the truth than this.

"There were childish people," says Mr. Dole, "who always judged a man by the clothes that he wore. They associated a certain style of dress with the gentleman as distinguished from the peasant or workman. We are used in America to finding gentlemen in overalls, working in shops, driving wagons or even running locomotives, or standing at the helm on shipboard. We may know real ladies who take in washing. Our aristocrats show then good sense in wearing whatever befits their work."

And the same writer goes on: "It can hardly need to be said that the possession of money has nothing to do with the real character of the gentleman. Who really thinks this in our modern world? What if a man has made his millions, and lives in a palace and runs a steam yacht? Let him be coarse in his tastes, overbearing in his manners, tyrannical to his workmen, and we hear the __________[1] say, "Yes, he is rich, but he is no gentleman." As for women, no amount of furniture, ostentation or glitter of jewels, will cover the subtle distinction between the sham and the real lady.

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[1] Washington Gladden, Sermon, March 26, 1905, Gladden Papers.

In fact, I think we may say that while many men of wealth have been are are true gentlemen, the acquisition of wealth is apt to be more of a hinderance than a help to the cultivation of those qualities which constitute the gentleman. For the strong tendency, in those who are devoting their lives to the acquisition of wealth, is to make everything else subordinate to money -- to make that the supreme thing -- and that is what no man with the instincts or the habits of a gentleman could every think of doing.

Having cleared away these misconceptions, let us see whether we can gain some positive idea of the kind of person to whom we rightly give this name.

There is some one known to each one of us who is entitled to bear, without abuse, the grand old name of "gentleman." Let us place him, in our imagination, in certain situations where his character will be tried and see how he behaves.

An emergency has arisen in which his veracity is tested. He is questioned with respect to a certain matter, of which he has knowledge -- questioned by those who have a right to know the truth. It is his interest to conceal or misstate the facts. He would save himself trouble, unpopularity, loss, by telling a falsehood. What does he do? He tells the truth of course. You know that he will. If he did not, he would not be a gentleman. That is the foundation of a gentleman's character.

You watch him in a social assembly. He is courteous to everyone; he listens respectfully to what each one is saying, and replies kindly; he is interested in peoples interests, and is mindful of their happiness; the humble people and the shy people are entirely at home in his presence. But there is no effusiveness; no pretense of an interest that he does not feel. He does not __________ you with insincere compliments; he does not gush over you; he does not try to make you think that you are his very dearest friend, if you are not. Because he is a gentleman, he is sincere; he is not a hypocrite.

You follow him through all his relations, with his fellow men, and find him always frank, and manly, and fair in his judgments and treatment of others. If he happens upon a group of people who are rehashing scandal about their neighbor behind their neighbor's back, you expect him to turn his back on them. He is one of those "Who speak no slander, no, nor listen to it," he is a gentleman.

There is nothing underhanded about him. He is not a sneak. He never wrote an anonymous letter, in his life, criticizing or assailing his fellow man. If he has anything of that nature to say, he says it openly or signs his name to it.

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[1] There are places where the writer cannot decipher Gladden's handwriting.

You have seen him placed in situations where, by combination with others, or by discreet silence, he might have aided in pushing another man out of a good place and securing it for himself. Can you conceive of his profiting in that way by any other man's misfortune? You know that he would hate himself if he could think of such a thing. He is a gentleman.

Here is a gigantic evil doer -- one of the man who, by _________ combinations have trampled thousands down, to exalt and aggrandize themselves. For some reason or other, best known to himself, this man wants the alliance of your friend, and offers him a great sum of money; either for his own use, or for some cause in which he is interested. Will he take it? No; he cannot be bribed with money to be a companion of thieves or a partner with extortionists. He knows that there are some goods that money will not buy, and some losses for which money cannot compensate. He knows that he could not accept this man's money without treating him with respect and honor, and sealing his lips to his iniquities. A gentleman cannot put himself under obligation to a man whose character he despises, and whose deeds he is bound to denounce. Especially when he has some good reason to believe that the favor granted is meant to purchase his silence and complaisance, he will spurn it as an insult to his manhood.

Some one who does not belong to his party or his church, who has been his opponent, perhaps his enemy, is maligned in his presense; false and injurious words are spoken about him; Does he assent? Does he keep silent? No; he speaks out indignantly. "This man is no friend or mine," he says, "I owe him nothing but justice; that is due from me to every man. You shall not lie about him; against your malicious detraction I stand with him."

He is witness to some act of injustice or cruelty, the oppression or degradation of one who is weak or ignorant or friendless. Does he stand and look on complacently; does he pass by on the other side? No; he rebukes the wrong and if need be resists it; he takes his stand with the weak, as against the strong. He is the man whom the old prophet forsaw -- "A strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in his distress -- a hiding place from the wind and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."[1] He is a strong tower into which the helpless and the friendless may run and be safe.

It is hardly needful that I should draw out these illustrations; I have by no means exhausted the conditions under which this man would exhibit the quality of a gentleman; I might go on all night without completing the picture, but I have said enough to indicate the elements of the character of a true gentleman. And while there are a great many other true things which could be said about him, this one thing will, I think, be found to be central --

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[1] Isaiah 25:4 - 32:2 [Gladden's notation]

that to him the supreme good of life is character -- manhood and womanhood; that he values this for himself above all other things, and respects it equally in others. It is the perfection of character that he honors -- a full rounded manhood and womanhood -- in which strength and integrity are joined with grace and beauty. This is with him the principal thing. To be the man that God means him to be, to help all others to become the men and women that God means them to be -- this is the aim to which his life is devoted.

Of course, this means that in his life the spirit will rule the flesh, and that the ideal will subjugate and control the material; that what Paul calls the law of the mind will be enthroned, and that the law of the members will be held in subjection.

Why will he not lie? Because a lie, which might promote his business interests, or protect him from annoyance, or prevent some loss of popularity, would hurt his character -- would undermine his integrity.

Why will he not gush over people in whom he does not feel a special interest? Because insincerity enfeebles manhood.

Why will he not write an anonymous letter? Because it is the act of a coward, and the man who does it, even if he is never detected in it, lowers himself in his own estimation -- degrades his own manhood.

Why will he not plot to push another from his place that he may improve his own fortunes. Partly because the welfare of the other man is as dear to him as his own; partly because such an unfair act would make him forever ashamed of himself.

Why will be not accept favors from one whom he regards as a public enemy, whom he is bound to denounce and oppose? Because it is a mean thing to take a man's money in your left hand, when you intend to smite him with your right hand; and because it is an infinitely meaner thing to accept gifts, which are meant to silence your testimony against evil doing, or are likely to have that effect. There is no other operation in which a man's character is more subtly or more swiftly undermined.

Why will he not have any part with backbiters? Because the backbiter is a coward, and cowardice is the antithesis of manhood.

Why will he not stand by and see the weak and the ignorant wronged or dispised, and why does he always treat the poor and the humble with courtesy? Because he recognizes the manhood of every man and the womanhood of every woman, as the one unspeakably precious thing; and will do nothing, nor consent to anything, which tends to depreciate that royal possession or to hinder its' development.

There is an old Latin proverb which says: "The greatest reverence is due to a boy." -- "Maxima reverutra puero debituer." But, just as much is due to a girl, or to a man or a woman. It is to the human soul that the reverence is due. A sacred and divine thing is humanity, whenever you find it, no matter how rough may be the garb it wears, no matter how sadly it is deformed and defiled by ignorance and sin. The recognition of this fact, and the regulation of all his conduct by it, is the essential quality of a gentleman. His own manhood he will not debase or assoil; he keeps his eye fixed on the ideal and does not mean to fall short of it. And the dignity and the freedom and the nobility of some which he covets for himself, he recognizes as the ideal for every other human being, and he will do what he can to defend every man's right to it and to secure every man in the possession of it.

It is manifest also that his whole life finds its' motive in the realm of this ideal. It is the man whom he ought to be who is always before his mind's eye -- not the man that he is. There is a standard of truth and justice and honor -- above him and beyond him -- by which he judges his life, and to which he seeks to bring it into conformity. He is always saying what Paul said -- even if he never heard of Paul: I count not myself to have __________ but this one thing I do -- forgetting the things that are behind and stretching onward to the things that are before, I press toward the mark of the prize of my high calling.

It is the ideal, also, in the lives of others, which he honors. It is the possibilities that he discerns in the lives of the humblest and meanest that give the law to his conduct. He takes off his hat to the man you ought to be, and it helps you to discern that possibility for yourself and to move toward it. The true gentleman lifts every life that he touches, because he naturally and unconsciously idealizes them.

It is evident, therefore, that he is one who looks not at the things that are seen, but at the things that are unseen. What is the habit of his mind. His life moves in a region above the range of the physical senses. He gets his motives and his inspirations out of the world of spirit. Truth, justice, honor, courage, sincerity are not things of sense. Yet to the true gentleman, these are the real things. He believes in these a great deal more than he believes in anything that the senses can discern or enjoy. It is this faith more than anything else that makes him a gentleman.

If this is true, it would seem that the gentleman would naturally be a religious man. For the one thing that he needs is the freshening and illumination of his ideals; and God is the archetype of all our ideals; in him they are united. There is no way in which a man can so surely get his love of truth deepened, his passion for justice confirmed, his sense of honor quickened, his courage invigorated, his manliness strengthened, as by opening his mind to the spirit who comes to __________ as the Christ.

Besides, if a gentleman's central motive is what we have found it to be, the completion and perfection of his own manhood, and the recognition of the manhood of every other man and the womanhood of every woman -- that is the end and aim of all religion. That is what salvation means. He is a co-worker with God, and he ought to recognize that fact, and make that cooperation conscious and voluntary.

A true gentleman would naturally be a religious man; if he fails to be, it is because he misconceives the nature of religion; he has got some inadequate or distorted conception of it. It was old Dekker, was it not, who said that Jesus Christ was the first true gentleman that ever breathed. Certainly we must admit that he was the most perfect gentleman of history. And, I am sure that, the conception of the character of a gentleman, which we have been studying tonight, can be traced directly to him.

Shall we say, then, that every true Christian must need be a gentleman? Yes; every one who comprehends the meaning of salvation through Christ and permits Christ to do for him all that he came to do, will be a gentleman. The work of Christ is designed to make perfect men -- perfect as individuals, perfect in their relations to others; and the man who has attained to that perfection is exactly what we mean by a gentleman. Of course, there are many who have a very crude and inadequate notion of salvation; and, therefore, there are a great many people in all our Christian churches who lack a great deal of being gentlemen.

We are right in wishing that every gentleman would be a Christian disciple; because we believe that it would help him to be a more perfect gentleman, and we are also justified in wishing that every Christian disciple would become a gentleman, because we are sure that many of them would thus become much better Christians. In fact, it seems to me that, one great need of the Christian people of this generation is that they should accept, much more fully than they yet have done, the principles which we have found lying at the foundation of the character of the true gentleman. These principles are elements of the essential Christianity, but they need emphasis and development just now.

By this I mean that there is a loud call in the Christian churches for a higher style of idealism than that which now prevails. We want Christian men, Christian leaders, who have more faith in ideas and in ideals, and who are less in bondage to expediency and the low motives of materialism.

In short, there is a reason to fear that, in this commercial age, with the whole population going made in its' quest for money the church itself is in great danger of putting an emphasis upon its' need for money, which will conceal from its' own vision the secret of its' power and greatly weaken its' influence. It is true that money can be used in promoting the proper work of the church, and when it is kept in its' place, it may serve a useful purpose. But when it becomes our main reliance, and we feel that everything depends on it, and that we are helpless without it -- that our success is measured by the amount of money we can command, the hour of peril has come.

I fear that this tendency is very strong among us. We are thinking far too much about the material conditions of our work -- about fine buildings and attractive furniture, about our revenues and our resources; I fear that we ministers are sometimes a great deal more anxious about these things that we are about the spiritual conditions; I fear that in all our work this interest, which ought to be subordinate, tends to be paramount and ___________. The consequence is that we sometimes sacrifice the interests of truth and humanity and pure and undefiled religion to material interests. We think so much about the good that we could do with money that, we never have much time to think about the good that we can do without it, nor about the harm that we may do in lowering our standards to get it. We thus come perilously near the doctrine that the end justifies the means. Money seems to us a thing so indispensable, in our Christian work that, we are fair to stifle any convictions of truth or righteousness that may stand in the way of obtaining it. "We can do so much good with the money," we say.

It is just here that we need to call into our counsels the Christian gentleman. From him it is needful to accept the suggestion that we cannot afford to enter into alliances with one whose conduct we are bound to denounce and oppose. We cannot accept favors from one whom we ought to resist as a public enemy. It is dishonorable to do it. No gentleman ever does it. And we, in our administration of the high trusts committed to us, must not fall below the standards of a christian gentleman.

With respect to the particular case now before our minds, there is this to say: The money proffered to the American Board of Missions comes out of a colossal estate, whose foundations were laid in the most relentless capacity known to modern commercial history. The success of this business, from the beginning until now, has been largely due to unlawful and outrageous manipulation of railway rates. The whole country is now up in arms against this species of robbery. It has a right to be. It has been a long time waking up to this enormity. It is to this cause -- for more than to any other -- that the monopolies, which have been grinding the life out of our industries, owe their power.

The United States Government is now engaged in a strenuous attempt to ferret out and punish this injustice. And the people of the United States have a tremendous battle on their hands with the corporate greed, which has entrenched itself in this stronghold, and has learned to use the railways for the oppression and spoliation of the people.

The man who has given our missionary society this gift, is the great organizer and promoter of this system of plunder. His fortune was built on this foundation. He has taught the other plunderers most of what they know about these methods. He represents, more perfectly than anyone else, the system of brigandage by which our commerce has been ravaged for many years.

This system must be attacked and overthrown, if we want to save free government. In every such battle for freedom and righteousness, the Congregational churches have their part. Their place today is in the firing line. And, on the eve of this battle, now they are asked to accept a great gift of money from the man who, more perfectly than anyone else, represents the system which they are bound to fight; the injustice and oppression which they are called to overthrow.

I hope they are not mean enough to take his money, and then turn around and fight him. I hope they are not so faithless to their highest obligations, as to take his money, and shut their mouths or become his apologists.

We do not want his money. We cannot always be sure that the money, which comes to us, comes from clean sources; and I am not urging any quixotic tests; but when we know that money has been wrongfully gained, and that the acceptance of it must tend to seal the lips which ought to testify against a public wrong and a public enemy, then we are traitors if we take it. We do not want this man's money. It is to be applied, we are told, in the maintenance of colleges in mission fields. Do we wish to have the young people of these colleges taught to repeat this man's name as that of a great benefactor and exemplar? It would be better to close them permanently.

We do not want this man's money. To accept it will be to invite the contempt of millions of honest men; to reject it will strengthen our churches in the affection and respect of millions who are inclined to doubt whether the churches love God more than Mammon. Our missions will be richer and stronger without it than with it; and as sure as God is God, we shall lose nothing by our loyalty to the things unseen and eternal.

THE ADDRESS AT YOUNG'S HOTEL[1]

It seems important to those who feel that a mistake has been made in soliciting and accepting a large gift from Mr. Rockefeller to the American Board that the grounds of their opposition should be more fully set forth than has been possible hitherto. As the discussion has been going on some things have grown more clear. At first the acceptance of the gift was approved by many on the ground that it was unsolicited. It was admitted that it would have been a mistake to ask for it, but the voluntary proffer could not be rejected. It now transpires that it was not a voluntary proffer, that it was diligently sought for the space of three years. Those who approved, upon the erroneous statements first given out, may be ready now to reconsider.

It is also needful to make it entirely clear that those who disapprove of this alliance are not acting upon mere gossip or rumor but that they rest their judgment on well accredited evidence. To bring these facts succinctly before the people of our churches is one purpose of the present paper.

It should also be explicitly stated that this statement goes forth with no assumption or pretence of official authority. It expresses the opinions of the man whose name is signed to it, and it has no other force than that which is found in the truth and reason which it may embody. The writer has no other claim to be heard than that he is a Christian minister, deeply interested in the application to all life of the law of Christ, and a Christian citizen seriously impressed with the social perils now threatening this nation. As such, he begs for the careful consideration of the facts and reasonings that follow.

Certain elementary moral principles appear to be repudiated in the explicit statement of the prudential committee: "Our responsibility begins with the receipt of a gift." The contention is that, no matter what may be the character of the giver his gifts should be welcomed with thanks. It can hardly be possible that the committee means to stand on this rule. At any rate, it is very important that a clear statement be made respecting the principles which should govern the receipt of gifts from doubtful sources. Our benevolent societies cannot knowingly accept gifts which are the proceeds of lawlessness, nor must they knowingly be the partners of those who are winning gains by methods which, though not yet punished by the law, are yet notoriously and indubitably extortionate and dishonorable. In the complexities of modern commerce it is often possible to take advantage of the necessities of men or of their weakness, and extort from them their property without incurring the penalty of any law. But property thus acquired is held by no better moral title than the booty of the highwayman, and the principle which forbids complicity in unjust gains applies to this no less rigorously.

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[1] Boston Evening Transcript, April 27, 1905.

It may be agreed that gifts coming from sources unassailed may be accepted without questioning. It is not necessary that a missionary society should undertake the duties of a moral inquistor: it ought to assume, unless there is evidence to the contrary, that gifts laid on its altars have been honestly acquired. But when the question is raised, and there is reasonable ground for believing that the money has been iniquitously obtained and does not rightfully belong to the one who offers it, the society must refuse to receive it until the doubt is resolved. There is a moral obligation here which cannot be shirked. It may sometimes be a difficult and disagreeable duty; that is no reason why it should not be faithfully performed.

The prudential committee lays down this maxim: "Our responsibility begins with the receipt of a gift." By this it means, as its argument shows, that its responsibility begins after the gift has been received. Let us amend by saying, "The responsibility of a missionary society begins in the act of receiving a gift, if that gift is unsolicited." And surely it will not be maintained that a missionary society has no responsibility for the character of a gift which it has spent three years in soliciting.

With matters of fact the Prudential committee and its defenders deal no more satisfactorily than with matters of principle. Referring to the reasons given by the protestants why this gift should be refused, the committee says that it does not feel warranted in passing judgment upon "questions which have never been settled, either before the courts or at the bar of public opinion." This must mean that neither the courts nor public opinion have furnished any adequate reasons for believing that the fortune out of which this donation comes has been flagitiously acquired. It is true that certain accusations against this company are now being investigated by the officers of the United States Government, and that legal or legislative proceedings of one sort or another against the company are now pending in thirteen or fourteen States, and it is true that these questions have not been settled.

But it is not true that no charges against this company have been proved in court. More than once the courts of the United States and the States have rendered judgment against it, setting the seal of their condemnation upon its offences. The facts concerning these court proceedings have been spread before the people in newspaper reports; they have been discussed in magazines and in public addresses; the common people, as a rule, are well informed concerning them. Much of the popular knowledge of the operations of this company comes from two sources: Mr. Henry D. Lloyd's "Wealth vs. Commonwealth," and Miss Ida M. Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company," and those who argue that nothing has been proved against the Standard Oil Company are wont to disparage these books as reckless in their method or partisan in their temper.

Most of those who thus judge them have never read them. Those who have read them know that all their important statements are based on official documents, on testimony presented before legislative and congressional committees, on copies of contracts and other business instruments, and on the records of courts. In all these cases the authorities are cited. Every man who can read the English language can verify them. About one-third of each of Miss Tarbell's solid volumes is made up of such documentary evidence. To represent either of these books as the careless or slanderous assaults of ignorant persons is less than just. Neither of these writers is capable of such injustice. Each of them wrote with a deep sense of social responsibility.

Mr. Lloyd's volume exhibits more feeling; it is the testimony of a knightly soul aflame against oppression. But none who knew this man, who spent his life in the service of humanity and laid it down as a sacrifice in a great battle against wrong, needs to be told that in all his passionate devotion to the highest ideals, he could never have wantonly slandered any man. Miss Tarbell's style is more restrained. From beginning to end her book gives the impression of being a dispassionate exposition. The evidence is fairly weighed: the investigation is judicial.

The conclusive proof that these revelations are true is found in the fact that no action has been brought against either of these writers. The statements made by both of them respecting the methods and operations of this company are damning. It is incredible that these men would have rested under such charges if the charges could have been disproved. Mr. Lloyd was not an irresponsible person; he was a man of wealth and position. Miss Tarbell spread her indictment before the public in the pages of a great magazine whose publishers could have been severely punished if what she stated was libelous. There was money enough to prosecute slanderers, and shrewd lawyers enough to have exposed their malice, and courts not at all loath to do them justice. The fact that not a finger has been raised to punish them is evidence that their indictment cannot be overthrown.

Not only from these books, and from the authorities to which they refer, but from a great variety of other sources open to the people of the United States, may be drawn abundant materials for a judgment respecting the Standard Oil Company and its methods. It is thus a matter of common knowledge that the Standard Oil Company has been frequently convicted, sometimes out of its own mouth, of transgressions of the laws of the land. A fearless judge of the United States District Court denounced their system of rebates as "gross, illegal and inexcusable," and said of it: "The discrimination complained of in this case is so wanton and oppressive that it could hardly have been accepted by an honest man having a due regard for the rights of others."

The plea of the apologists for the company always is that their system of rebates was not illegal until the interstate commerce law had forbidden it. But Judge Baxter brushes that sophistry aside. He declares that the charter of every railway involves "the obligation to carry for every person offering business under like circumstances at the same rate. All unjust discriminations are in violation of sound public policy and are forbidden by law. . . .if it were not so, the managers of railways in collusion with others in command of large capital could control the business of the country, at least to the extent that the business was dependent on railroad transportation for its success, and make and unmake the fortunes of men at will."

This is precisely what the Standard Oil Company is charged with doing through all its history, and the solemn declaration of a judge of the United States Court that it is "greatly abhorrent to all fair minds" finds an echo in every honest heart. It is but a small amount that the company was compelled by this decision to disgorge, but the words of Judge Baxter apply with equal force to the great bulk of the transactions of this company with the railroads for a period of ten or twelve years, and he describes a kind of operation under which they extorted from their competitors, through the railroads, many millions of dollars. It was by help of this "wanton and oppressive" exercise of power that this stupendous monopoly was built up. The Standard Oil Company, with its present power to rule and ruin the business of the country, could not have existed but for this illegal and outrageous use of the railroads in the extermination of competitors. There was never any appeal from Judge Baxter's judgment in this case, and if anything can be "settled by the courts" it was settled then that it was by the help of flagitious methods that this fortune has been reared. However persistently, in accepting gifts, we may shut our eyes to these facts, millions of the American people are fully informed concerning them.

There are other facts not less notorious. It is known that the managers of this combination, after doing business illegally as a trust for ten years, were compelled by a decree of a Supreme Court of Ohio to dissolve their organization and go out of business. Their entire procedure during all that time had been in violation of law. They found in New Jersey, of course, "a 'legal' outfit for carrying on their depredations."

On various occasions they have been constrained to make distinct confession respecting the nature of their business. In 1879 when their leaders were under indictment for conspiracy, they refused to answer questions put to them by an investigating committee on the plea that if they told the truth they would incriminate themselves; and again, in 1898, when ordered by the Supreme Court in Ohio to produce their books in court, the secretary of the Standard Oil Company of Ohio made oath that he could not do so without incriminating both the company and himself.

The American people know all these things and many more like unto them. More than this, they are fully aware that the business methods of the company, even when not technically illegal, are often utterly dishonorable. Competitive business at its best estate is apt to be hard and merciless, but it recognizes certain principles of decency and fair play. It is a game, and it is played to win; but the rules of the game are fairly observed by honorable competitors. It is the simple truth to say that the Standard Oil Company from the beginning has violated all these rules. It has played continually with stacked cards and loaded dice. On the football field or in the prize ring such unsportsmanlike behavior would be execrated.

There is a kind of competition which the German law makes criminal. This is the kind of competition which this company has always practiced. The system of rebates is, of course, the most abhorrent of these practices. It is often said that the acceptance of rebates had been nearly universal on the part of large shippers, but the kind of rebates extorted by this company -- rebates not only on its own shipments, but on all those of its competitors, ordinary concerns could never have collected. Other gigantic combinations are now enforcing the same kind of tribute from independent dealers, but it is palpable that only those aggregations of wealth which are able to dominate the railroads could compel them to collect tribute for their benefit from their competitors. There is nothing more startling or more ominous in American history than the fact that such a tremendous injustice has been permitted to go on year after year, with no interference by the Government. Of this kind of extortion Mr. Rockefeller has the credit of being the inventor. It was a weapon that he forged and wielded most mercilessly in the destruction of his competitors. Other have since learned the art, but the credit of originating it must be given to him. Is it not entirely clear that no man, with the most elementary notions of justice, could ever have conceived of it?

Besides this colossal wrong, many practices of the utmost baseness have characterized this business. The subsidizing of local railway freight agents, by whom full reports have been sent to the Standard of all shipments arriving at the station from competing companies: the bribery of the employees of competitors to reveal to the Standard the secrets of their employers' business; especially the contemptible manner in which prices are always cut to kill competition, and then raised as soon as it is killed, and every poor oil peddler anywhere in the land selling other than Standard oil is dogged and driven from his livelihood by this giant -- these are illustrations of a kind of thing which does not deserve to bear the name of business. In Miss Tarbell's chapter on "Cutting to Kill" will be found photographic reproductions of the kind of "reports" made to this company and many letters from dealers all over the land reciting their experience.

Let no man say that such methods as these are characteristic of American commerce. What do the reputable businessmen mean who come forward to defend or to apologize for this brigandage? Do they wish to associate themselves with an enormity of this nature? Do they want us to believe that they are doing business after this fashion? Is it Pharisaism to claim a higher standard of business morality than that which rules in such transactions?

Such are a few of the notorious facts upon which the American people have made up their judgment respecting the business of the Standard Oil Company. If iniquitous gains are not to be welcomed into the Lord's treasury, a serious mistake must have been made in soliciting these.

It is sometimes said that this man and this company are only the products of bad social conditions. But history shows that they are producers more than products. They have done more to create these evil social conditions than any score of other agencies.

We are often asked why we single out this man for reprobation. If the answer has not already been given it is enough to say that we did not single him out; it was the prudential committee who singled him out by soliciting his donation. We object to his gift because it is now before us for judgment. It is said that there are others from whom a gift would be equally objectionable. Even if that were true, no gifts have been offered by these others, and it will be time to decide about them when they are offered. Each case must stand on its own merits.

That there may be others with whom the churches ought to refuse alliance is probable. The methods which the Standard Oil Company has found so successful are being adopted by other great companies, and this is the alarming fact.

This vast power of concentrated wealth, which is exerted, with a growing disregard of human welfare, for the aggrandizement of the few of by the oppression of the many, has filled the minds of the people with a mighty indignation. It is not true that all rich men are robbers, but the facts which have come to light within the last year respecting some of the aggregations of wealth are sufficiently disquieting. The Standard Oil Company is not the only gigantic monopoly which evinces an unsocial purpose, and there is no intention on the part of those who resist aggressions to confine their warfare to this one organization. But this is the mightiest and probably the worst of these anti-social forces; its operations are better known than those of any of its kindred; the case against it is clearer than against any other monopoly. If the churches of Christ are to separate themselves from the iniquity of conscienceless and predatory wealth, there can be no better place than this to begin. If we accept in our Christian work the alliance of the Standard Oil Company, we can refuse no other alliance with oppressors and despoilers of the people; to say that we will not testify against this iniquity because others are nearly or quite as heinous is practically to say that we will testify against no iniquity, that in the presence of all this wrong we will shut our eyes and seal our lips.

Is it not plain that the association into which the Church is being drawn in its solicitation of this gift must be full of injury to the cause which it represents and embarrassing and humiliating to the people upon whom it depends for support? Surely, there are those with whom we cannot be profitably yoked together, and we beseech our churches, before it is too late, to consider well the harm which this alliance is sure to work in several directions.

The Church which accepts the Standard Oil Company as its yoke-fellow can hardly hope to keep the respect of right-minded young men and women. Tens of thousands of these have been studying social problems in our colleges and universities, and their minds are clear upon the bearing of these social questions. The Church which, for money, is ready to condone social injustice will lose its hold on these young people. They are able to understand the law of Christ, and they have studied the record of this iniquity, and they know that there can be no agreement between them. They will either be repelled from the Church, as too many of them have already been, or else, drawn by the example of those who ought to be better guides into complaisance with what they know to be wrong, their moral standards will be lowered and their characters undermined. Let no man dismiss this as chimera; the Church is in great danger of inflicting terrible injury upon the youth of this generation, and thus of striking a fatal blow at her own life.

The effect upon the working people of the land and upon the whole of the non-churchgoing class must also be well considered. There are many explanations, some of which are more or less plausible, of the increasing absence of the industrious self-respecting working people from our churches, but the one great cause is the almost universal belief that the churches of the country are in too close relations with unscrupulous and predatious wealth. A good many of us have been trying hard to correct this impression and to remove the causes of it. We have felt that the separation between the churches and these honest, hard working people, who are the bone and sinew of our population, is the opprobrium of our Christianity. We had hoped that our Congregational Churches were making some progress toward a better understanding with them, but the effect of the acceptance of this gift will be to widen and deepen the chasm between the churches and those whom they most need to reach. It is fatuous to doubt it. From all over the land, already, the testimony is pouring in showing that this is sure to happen. By the working people, the average people, everywhere, the protest against the acceptance of the gift was met with a glad outcry of hope and thanksgiving; while the tidings that it has been overruled has called forth bitter words of despairing indignation.

If the church wishes to regain its hold upon the people who heard its Master gladly, it must keep itself free from such alliances as these.

The truth is that the great masses of the American people have a very clear and positive opinion respecting the sources from which this gift has come. No casuistry will change their minds.

They never can be persuaded that friendship with such malign powers is not suspicious and shameful. They will insist on believing that churches as well as men are known by the company they keep, and they will never be convinced that a church which cultivates the society and cooperation of such men is a true representative of Jesus Christ.

Finally, the national aspects of this question press upon our attention. This nation is facing a crisis in its history. Our easy-going optimism may ignore it, but the battle is on between corporate greed and industrial freedom. Enormous aggregations of capital are seeking to gather up and control, not only the railways and the mines and the food supply of the people, but the Government itself. This power already lays a heavy hand on industry and enterprise. Thoughtful men confront the future with sober faces. If we want to save our nation from the vast oppressions that are sure to provoke reactions, we must gird ourselves for a determined struggle. In all this warfare the Christian churches ought to be at the front, leaders in the fight for equal opportunity, witnesses for the liberty with which the Son makes us free.

Now, it is undeniable that among the powers and influences which have led the nation into the peril which now threaten us -- the peril arising from aggregations of selfish wealth -- none has been more potent or more ruthless than that which it is now proposed to take into partnership in our missionary work. It is an impossible suggestion. As Christian patriots we cannot think of it. We must keep our churches from all entangling alliances with the enemies of our country, no matter in what guise they may appear. Failure here will be costliest blunder that the Church has ever made.

"A Long Journey and a Lively Debate" [1]

The breadth of this continent is never adequately grasped until you have crossed it. My route was neither the most direct nor the most expeditious; the northern lines are longer and slower. The exact number of miles travelled in the nineteen days, according to railway time tables was 5592; four days and a quarter of this time was given to brief sojournings in four cities, Seattle, Washington, Portland, Oregon, Fargo, N. D., and St. Paul, Illinois; the rest of the time I was on the road.

The old psalmist admonished his countrymen and fellow religionists to get acquainted with their own country; he seemed to think it a religious as well as a patriotic obligation. "Walk about Zion," he cries, "and go round about her; mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces, then ye may tell it to the generations following." If he had lived in the United States of America he would have seen that he was setting a somewhat difficult task. Yet, for those who are able to accomplish it, it is quite worth while. One cannot at all comprehend the greatness of his responsibilities as an American citizen and an American Christian, without getting some impression of the vastness of this country, the manifoldness of its resources, and the character of its teeming population. The problem which we are working out upon this continent is thus brought home to him; he sees that it is one of tremendous importance; the possibilities both of good and of evil are beyond computation; if this nation falls great will be the fall of it; no such disaster has ever been recorded on the pages of history; if it stands upon the sure foundations and does the work for the world that it ought to do, it will lead in and establish the Kingdom that cannot be moved.

For this reason such glimpses as one may get in such a journey are inspiring and solemnizing; it takes your breath away to think of what may be; it makes you feel that everything which concerns the social life or the moral life of this nation is of vast significance; it makes you tremble to think of the mischief that may be done by the perversion of men's thoughts and the lowering of their ideals respecting the great things of conduct and character; it makes you wish for a thousand tongues to bear witness to the truth you know and ten thousand lives to give to the service of the Kingdom.

That great northern and northwestern domain stretching from Minnesota through North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, and Washington to Oregon, is still, for the most part, undeveloped. Uncounted millions of acres are still uncultivated; concerning much of it, it seems very doubtful whether it ever can be. These vast alkaline places, covered only with sagebrush and grasswood, would be very productive if water could reach them; but one who studies the maps and looks out the plains is unable to see from what source the water could be brought to many of them. In many regions the existing streams are practically all used for purposes of irrigation and there are many vast plains from which the rivers are too far away. The thirsty land has been calling for countless generations for the refreshing water, but it has not come, nor can we be sure that it ever will. There is something pathetic in this appeal from the earth and the heaven; and it is now the less pathetic to remember, that it is simply because the earth is so barren and that the rain cannot fall. The heavens are willing, but the earth is powerless to take what the skies are ready to give.

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[1] Washington Gladden, Sermon, September 24, 1905, Gladden Papers.

When man helps the earth its fertility is quickly assured. The miracles of irrigation that have been wrought in many portions of this vast domain are wonderful, indeed. How many a valley and hillside have been reclaimed already, and made fruitful and beautiful by the coming of the children of men, with their precious boon of the life-giving water. How many a wilderness and solitary place has been made glad for them; how many a desert rejoices and blossoms as the rose because of them; at the touch of their magic how many pastures are clothed with flocks, how many valleys are covered with corn, and it is no great stretch of imagination that hears them praising God: "They shout for joy, they also sing!"

Some of those beautiful valleys between the Rocky Mountain ranges are triumphs of civilization. Rarely has the transforming touch of human intelligence and good will been seen in a more wonderful conversion. It is all a sign of what the earth will be when man comes to himself--when with knowledge and love he sets himself to work to restore the lost paradise. For I doubt not these processes of irrigation are destined to extend very far; millions on millions of acres will yet be recovered from the desert condition; if there are great spaces which the water cannot reach there are wide ranges yet to which it *can* be brought and the productive area of the country is to be greatly increased by this means.

The grandeur of the Rocky Mountain scenery I will not try to describe; the journey over both the great ranges was full of impressive moments; and while the clouds, on the other side, gave us hardly a glimpse of the great smowy peaks which are the glory of that land of Mt. Hood and Mt. Rainier and Mt. __________,[1] another Olympic Range,--we saw enough to leave delightful memories, and to inspire strong wishes for another sight.

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[1] In some places the writer could not decipher Gladden's manuscript.

But the great Northwest claims our interest not chiefly because of its mountains of strength or its vales of beauty, but because of the people who inhabit them. It happens that the September number of The World's Work magazine is devoted to this region. In a series of well-studied and splendidly illustrated articles the Paper has brought before us the essential facts about the land and the people. Every intelligent American ought to read it. It will make his pulses beat quicker; it will strengthen his hope for his native land.

Montana is but partially included in this exhibit. This great central northern state is an empire in itself. According to the time table we traveled 785 miles within its borders going west--further than from here to New York. Its great resources are still to be developed.

The three great states mainly treated in this magazine exhibit are Oregon, Washington and Idaho; and the picture set before us of their possibilities and prospects is one of large outline and brilliant color. I can do no better than to read, for the benefit of those who have not read it, a paragraph or two from this magazine:

> "A distinquished student of geography and of men has declared that the Northwest--meaning Oregon, Washington, Idaho, a part of Montana and a part of Canada,--is likely to be the bearers of a better stock of men of our race than has yet been developed elsewhere in the United States, or in England, or in any of the British Colonies. The _______ parts of this region so fertile that they will sustain a large population--perhaps fifty million: and yet they will lie on a high elevation where snow falls; they will live in the presence of great constant aspects of nature, --for, however much man may change the valleys he cannot change the mountains; and they will live within reach of the sea. Ocean, stream, _______, forest, farm,--all these have enduring variety and abundance of wealth. This Country invites to an outdoor life more kindly than any other land of the same altitude or latitude."

> "You cannot study this region long without feeling the probability of such a prediction. Surely there is nothing extravagant in it; and every important fact about the land wakes toward the truth of it. Not the least interesting hint of such a destiny is the universal belief in it by the people themselves who live there. They are sure that they have for a home the most advantageous part of the earth; and this feeling is not just local pride such as you will find almost everywhere. It is a well-reasoned conviction based on study and on personal experience. It crops out in their daily conversation; it shows itself in their actions. They have planted their lives on it.
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> "The miner, the farmer, the fisherman, the sailor, the town-builder and the railroad builder, --every primary and productive man--sees before him an endless chance of profitable work for himself and for his successors, under favorable conditions that nothing can change.
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> "....In many opinions and in many activities there may yet be a certain_______of thought and action such as is characteristic of all new-settled communities; but there is nowhere a lack of power of efficiency or of self-confidence: and the total volume of performance is amazing. It is as much as to say, you can forsee the limit of population and even of the kinds of activity in New England or even in Iowa; but you cannot see the limit of either in this region. And everywhere the call if for men, more men."

One striking fact about these people is the large preponderance of Americans. Those born in the United States constitute 72.1 per cent of the population; add those born in Canada and in England and you have 78 per cent of the same kind of stock,--a much larger per cent than in any of the Eastern or Central states. And those who know them well testify that they are a healthy, strong, hopeful, brave people; very independent in their judgements, and very sound in their morals, very true in their devotion to the highest ideals.

I must not dwell on this most interesting theme. Mr. Page sums it up pretty well when he says: "The life of an 'Eastener' who has spent even a month in this Northwestern Country is thereafter divided into two periods,--before he saw it and afterwards--a studious visit makes a deep impression on such a man--if he have eyes in his head and a tongue in his mouth and any knack at making friends of the people whom he meets. The high-sounding prophecy that is quoted at the beginning of this artical becomes gradually a fixed faith. One of the many things that it will be worth living to watch for the next half century will be the extraordinary developement of this region. And this developement of people and of natural resources will make one of the most interesting chapters of our history."

There were two episodes of this journey to which I will allude--a Sunday in Portland, and a day in Fargo, N. D.

I had been invited to preach at the Lewis and Clark Expostion in Portland; but when the authorities of the Exposition yielded to the demands of those who do not care for Sunday services, and opened the evil side of the Exposition on Sunday, it seemed less practicable to try to maintain such services, and I was released from my engagement to speak on the grounds. At the same time, however, an invitation was extended to me to preach in the pulpits of the First Presbyterian and the First Congregational Churches, of the City, and it was this that took me to Portland. I arrived half an hour before midnight of Saturday and left at 8 o'clock Monday morning; the Exposition I saw only from the windows of a street car which passes the grounds on the hill above it. I was told that the experiment of opening the "Trail," with its catch penny shows and rather vulgar entertainments to the public on Sunday had not been financially successful; that although the Sunday admission is only half what is charged on other days, the attendance on Saturday is apt to be twice as large as the attendance on Sunday.

There might have been some good argument for opening the industrial and educational departments of the Fair on Sunday; there can be no very good excuse for opening that part of it whose moral influence is most questionable. I am not sorry that this experiment has proved a failure.

The glimpse that I got of Portland made me think it a very beautiful city. Mr. Page says of it: "The life of the people does not seem as strenuous as we think that all life in the 'West' must be. They have a social life that they cultivate and enjoy with the ease of a matured civilization. They have beautiful homes, and the commonest cottage will bloom with rambling roses to the roof. When a city has come to its own--has developed its character and as good a character as Portland has--it is absurd, if not impossible to write about it, for its life is very like life in any other city."

The two churches whose interiors I saw are very beautiful churches: and I was told by the Presbyterian pastor that his church had been well filled all through the summer.

On my return I spent a day and an evening in Fargo, the metropolis of North Dakota. It is a little city of 12,000 or 15,000; not only thrifty and enterprising, but comely and inviting, the seat of Fargo College, one of our Congregational College,--on whose staff of instructors one of our own young men has been doing good work for the last two years. The Congregational State Association was meeting there, and it was a body of ministers who would not be put to shame in any Eastern State. I heard two or three of the addresses, and I have rarely heard better ones. In the evening service, in the Opera House, that noble anthem of Max Spicker's "Fear Not, O Israel," and Frances Allitzen's glorious song, "The Lord is my Rock" were rendered by a choir, with four soloists,--in a manner that would delight any intelligent lover of great music. So you see that far out on the Northern prairies the people are responding to the touch of the ennobling and refining influences.

Of the particular errand that drew me to Seattle you will wish to hear something. The experiment of holding a meeting of the Board this far Northwest seems to have been very successful. The number of corporate members in attendance was not large, but there was a good representation of the Congregationalists of the Pacific states. To them the meeting brought quickening and inspiration, I am sure: and those who made the journey from the East received, I trust much more than they gave. To breath that atmosphere,--to come in touch with that fresh life, to get into our thought the tonic of the clear courageous thinking and into our wills the iron of that positive and strenuous people was a great good. It is a pity that the entire corporate membership of the Board could not have felt the pulse of that meeting. They will, I think, feel its influence.

I cannot speak at length of the addresses at the meeting. Some of the missionary appeals were very thrilling,--those from China and from Japan especially. I should say that the two most important utterances were, perhaps, the sermon by Dr. Twitchell of Hartford on Sunday morning, and the address by Dr. Dawson of England on Sunday evening. Neither of these I heard as I was away in Portland; but they were both printed in full in the Monday morning's paper, and I read them the next day.

Dr. Twitchell's sermon was simply a story, the story of the life of a great missionary, John Coleridge Patteson. The story was splendidly told; it stirred my heart to its depths to read it on the railway train; when it was spoken, as it surely was, with dignity and simplicity and wining eloquence it must have made a great impression. How much more effective it must have been than anything merely didoctic and argumentative. It is the life, always, that is the light of men; and the story of one such life is more convincing than all the arguments of the philosophers.

Dr. Dawson's evening sermon on "Self-Surrender" was a powerful presentation of the real missionary motive. I will venture to read you two paragraphs; partly for their bearing on what is coming after.

Must Change Ideal[1]

> "The ideal of the church must be reconstructed, and in the reconstruction a great purification of policy and aim will be involved. I would beg those who are sincerely grieved over the decline of enthusiasm for missions to ask, whether that decline is not largely due to a lowering of the missionary motive in which we have all connived? In putting our cause before the tribunals of commerce, have we not paraded the axiom that commerce follows the cross? Have we not often sought to justify missions by an appeal to the business instincts of men, instead of by an appeal to their spiritual enthusiasm? When, a few years ago in England, Cecil Rhodes boasted that the British flag was a great commercial asset, men of noble mind and genuine patriotism were justly resentful of a speech manifestly tainted by the coarse temper of organized greed; but how much more should one resent the plea that the cross of Christ is a valuable asset of commerce? This is a fatal lowering of the missionary motive. It may be very true that in the present condition of the world commerce follows the cross, but we have no right to think of it. The promoter of commerce brings no throb to my heart; but that all mankind should adore Him whom I adore, that is a hope which makes my heart throb indeed. Our business is to build up, not commerce, not empire, nor even civilization, but the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ. And in the degree that we keep the motive high, and refuse any partnership, explicit or implicit, with those who serve God for gain, will the best men of the world rally to us and to our work.

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[1] **Here** Gladden has merely pasted into his manuscript what appears to be a column from a newspaper containing the desired paragraphs.

> " But men say, this is very well, but how can we escape the financial problem involved in modern missions? Oh, do we not see that where there is genuine enthusiasm for Christ there is no financial problem--that where men give themselves, all other gifts are included? In the older forms of the English marriage service it was customary for the bridegroom at the altar to say to the bride, 'With all my worldly goods I thee endow;' ah, but the vow of love came first. It was easy for the man who had already given his passion and his loyalty to give his wealth--but not otherwise. And it is so with us--let men give themselves, and they will give their gold. How can we feel Christ's claim if we have never felt His love? Why is it that men do not give to Christ? It is because they are not given to Him. It is only at the marriage altar that it becomes easy to give all; and only when men have plighted their troth to Christ in pure passion and enduring loyalty, will they surrender their wealth to Him. First of all give yourself, then all other gifts are light.

The debate of which I have promised to speak, upon the principles which should govern the solicitation and acceptance of gifts, occupied the most of Friday afternoon. There was a pretty strong sentiment in favor or suppressing this subject: but a vigorous remonstrance against that policy was effectual, and the door was opened to the free discussion of a question that had never before been fairly stated to the corporate members of the Board.

The resolution which I had given notice of introducing was presented by consent of the officers on Friday morning, and was referred to a special committee of seven of which I was made chairman. The "Statement of Principles," recently issued by the Prudential Committee was at the same time offered to the meeting as a substitute for my resolution, and was referred to the same Committee. Of the seven members of the Committee five were in favor of the declared policy of the Board; one, Dr. Moxom of Springfield, Mass., agreed with me. After long discussion we decided to make two reports to the meeting, a majority and minority report; the majority report the Prudential Committee's statement, the minority report my resolution.

That you may know the exact matter under discussion I will read both statements: This is the Prudential Committee's Statement:[1]

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[1] Again Gladden has pasted a printed column into his manuscript.

"1. Organized as a corporation to carry on foreign missionary work and to receive gifts for that purpose, the American board has not been given the authority to discriminate between those who offer such gifts, and thereby to judge the character or reputation of the donors. It is not a beneficiary from the gift, but only an agent or a trustee for others.

"2. While the board cannot properly accept money from one to whom any of its officers knows it does not belong, it cannot, on the other hand, properly decline to receive money from its legal owner, provided it is given for the purposes for which the board was established and in accordance with its rules. In the absence of legal proof to the contrary, it is necessary to assume that money belongs to the person making the gift. Investigation by the executive officers to determine the sources from which gifts come is neither justifiable nor practicable.

"3. By acting under the above principles, which require the receiving of gifts without compelling its officers to trace the manner in which the donor may have acquired them, the board pronounces no judgment on the character of donors. Nor by the acceptance of gifts are its officers or members stopped from criticising business methods, or from persistently raising their voices in behalf of the application of the principles of righteousness in all departments and walks of life.

"4. The officers of this board, as of all similar boards organized to promote religion, philanthropy and education, are morally bound to use every legitimate means to secure and convert money from other uses into the direct service of advancing the kingdom of God in the world. It is for the good of all that the way should be made easier, and not more difficult, for all to give of their present possessions and increasing wealth for the noblest purposes.

"Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the aforesaid principles be and the same are hereby approved."

Dr. Gladden's Substitute

> The resolution offered by Dr. Gladden was as followed [sic.]:
>
> "Resolved, That the officers of the board should not invite nor solicit donations to its funds from persons whose gains have been made by methods morally indefensible or socially injurious."

Thus was the issue presented, and it was debated with great earnestness for two or three hours,--I do not know just how long. I think it was an illuminating discussion. The part to which I listened seemed to me of a high intellectual quality. And the temper of the debate was perfect; not a bitter or unbrotherly word was spoken. One of the daily papers, commenting on it said:

"It was a great discussion. Perhaps nowhere in the country at the time was there any so important. There some of the leading scholars of forty-five states were debating whether or not to place the stamp of disapproval on modern industrial methods. On both sides brilliant efforts worked the arguments. Few more studied speeches have been delivered in any city at any time in a running debate like the one that held the large gathering in Plymouth Church spell-bound."

I cannot well undertake to summarize the argument. I hope that you may all have the opportunity to read most of it for yourselves. One thing, I think, was made clear,--that the true question had never yet been fairly presented by the Prudential Committee to the members of the Board. In every document issued by that Committee the real question has been ignored or evaded. In every presentation of their case they have either asserted or assumed that the question concerned the acceptance of gifts voluntarily offered. Read this last statement of principles. The Board "has not been given the authority to discriminate between those who offer gifts." The Board "cannot decline to receive money from its legal owner." The above principles "require the receiving of gifts without compelling its officers to trace the manner in which the donor may have acquired them" That is the statement of the case, sent out to all the corporate members, on which their judgment was asked. I read over many of the replies of those corporate members who approved of the action of the Committee, and they almost uniformly answer the question asked by the Committee, which is not at all the question before the Board and the churches. The acceptance of gifts voluntarily offered has not been in question. If that were the question, there might be doubt whether, in all cases, such gifts should be accepted. If notorious evil doers come forward and proffer gifts with some parade and ostentation, in such a way that the acceptance of them involves some recognition of the donors, it might, no doubt, be our duty to refuse them. The cases which are always suggested--of moneys dropped upon the contribution plate, or offerings that come with no blowing of trumpets or advertisement in the newspapers,--are very different. No principle is violated in receiving them. We cannot investigate the origin of all such gifts. Nobody has suggested any such thing. The argument attacks a man of straw.

Accordingly the somewhat indignant outcry against preventing bad rich men from doing good with their money is utterly senseless. Nobody can hinder such a man from doing good with his money provided he wishes to do it in Christ's way--without blowing a trumpet about it in the newspapers. I have known of gifts of ten thousand dollars and of twenty thousand dollars and of fifty thousand dollars coming into the treasury of the Board from unknown sources. Those who are burning to do good with their money can find ways of getting it into the treasuries of the benevolent societies without raising the personal question at all.

But, as was abundantly shown at Seattle, this question of accepting large voluntary gifts, is a purely academic question; it has no relation to the facts under discussion. The American Board has not received any such gifts, from doubtful sources nor have any such been proffered. There is not the slightest probability that they will be. To argue about the inability of the Board to refuse such gifts is therefore childish,--to use no stronger term. They have never had a chance to "refuse" gifts from doubtful sources. The whole question is a question not of refusal, but of solicitation.

The entire argument, as hitherto presented on that side, represents to us a rich man, whose gains are ill-gotten, coming to the doors--of the American Board, and standing with his hat in one hand and a big roll of bank bills in the other, imploring their acceptance,--"Can we bid him begone with his money?" we are asked, "Must we not accept it and use it in our work?" But no such scene as this has been witnessed. No such suppliant has appeared at their gates. The picture which represents the facts is that of the officers of the Board themselves going forth, in search of a donor, and soliciting his gift, by the best acts of persuasion at their command, for the space of two years. The question whether this shall be done is the only question before the Boards; and it is a question, as I have said, which has never yet been presented by the officers of the Board to the members of the Board. It was, however, presented at Seattle, and clearly presented.

The question, as it was clearly shown is the question: To whom is it right and wise to go, soliciting gifts for Christian purposes? Whom shall we ask to be our partners and allies in mission work? Surely we have a right here to make our own selections. Granting for the sake of the argument that the Board "has not been given the authority it needs to discriminate among those to whom it will apply for such gifts. In fact it does discriminate among such possible givers. It has not gone and it will not go to notorious evil livers, of certain classes, asking them for contribution. When it has been intimated that, according to its principles, it might go to such persons, the intimation has been repelled as a slander. It does draw the line, then, and the only question is where shall the line be drawn?

To this the answer was, it must not go to men who are the enemies of society; to men who are making their gains by methods which are destructive of the very foundations of society. It was pointed out that there is a class of men--not a large class, but a dangerous class--who by methods that are not commercial, but piratical, by the methods of the gambler, or the financial freebooter, or the briber, or the political corruptionist; by the manipulation of the railways; by the scandalous appropriation to their own uses of trust funds,--have amassed enormous wealth; that the first business of society is to make such practices infamous, and impossible, and not to flatter or fawn upon the men who have become rich by means of them; and that the Christian church must not stultify itself and paralyze its influence by becoming a pensioner upon the bounty of such evil doers, or a solicitor of their favors.

I will not try to repeat the arguments by which this contention was supported, but I think that they were cogent and convincing; and I think that they did convince. The very simple resolution which expressed the result of this reasoning was before the body, and also the "principles" of the Prudential Committee, against which it was a protest. I think that after the debate had gone on for an hour or two there were very few there who were willing to put themselves on record against the one or for the other. Whether the resolution would have been adopted if the question had been taken I do not know. One of the papers--which at the outset was most hostile to the protesting party--said, the next day: "There was not a man in the meeting Friday afternoon who would have voted against Dr. Gladden's resolution." That I doubt. That is putting it too strongly. But I am sure that there was great unwillingness to vote against it. The only way to avoid this seemed to be to lay the whole subject on the table, and this unheroic expedient was adopted. Not only my resolution, but the principles of the Prudential Committee were laid upon the table; the issue was evaded.

It is not quite true that so far as action is concerned the case stands as it did before the meeting; for before the meeting the Prudential Committee had committed the Board to its statement of principles; and after a full debate the Board has declined to reaffirm those principles, and laid them on the table. That, I think, is a distinct gain.

As to the attitude of the meeting, there can be no question. That crowded, eager audience of Congregational Church members was strongly on the side of the short resolution. The popular feeling of the locality was all one way. It was felt and very strongly said, after the meeting, that the Board had made a very great mistake in dodging the issue; that a great opportunity to put itself right had been lost.

The newspaper which because its proprietor was an intimate friend of the chairman of the Prudential Committee was made the official organ of the Board,--began the campaign with some very uncomplimentory and contemptuous references to the opposition, and especially to the leader of the opposition. It declared that we represented nobody; that we were a feeble and impatient faction; that no notice would be taken of our opposition; that we were scarcely worthy of consideration.

The same newspaper, last Sunday morning, found it good to say in very large letters, on its first page, "Although the fight....against tainted money was apparently lost by the vote of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions last Friday, the principles....so gallantly upheld are expected to prevail in the future financial transactions of the board. An overwhelming sentiment is manifested by members, in private conversation, against solicitation or acceptance of further gifts from such sources."

There is much more of the same sort, quite too effusive in its applause to be repeated here. I think that there is considerable overstatement in this estimate of existing opinion in the Board; but I gave it as a clear indication of the way the wind was blowing.

I am sure that the result of the discussion has been very salutory; I believe that it will be decisive. The question is up, and it is cleared of the fog which until now has enveloped it; it will not be possible to muddle it,--among Congregationalists--any more. It will be discussed not only in our churches, but in all the churches. And it will do the churches great good to grapple with it, and get down to the foundations of ethical principle. It is really a question of life or death for the Christian church--what her attitude shall be toward the Kingdom of Mammon. The attitude has not hitherto been clear; it has often embigous; it has sometimes been treacherous we must correct all that. That is really the first business the church has on hand.

The great truth is that money is a symbol, with many different meanings. It may symbolize conscience, justice, honor, good will, brotherly kindness; that money we want in our Christian work, and we cannot have too much of it. It may symbolize selfishness, cruelty, perfidy, extortion, contempt for human rights; that money we cannot afford to solicit; its touch is pollution.

There is an article in a later Congregationalist by one whom I greatly honor but from whose views, in this matter, I utterly dissent. It is entitled, "Shall the dollars pedigree defeat its destiny?" There is no time now to answer the argument; but to the question my very prompt answer is that I know very little and care very little about the destiny of dollars. I am not sent to save them; I don't even care whether they are to have a second probation or not; I hope and trust that they will not. It is men that I am trying to save; and more of them are lost, in these days, I think, by the way they deal with dollars than in any other way. And the bottom question of this whole discussion is simply this, Which shall the Christian church care for most--the destiny of dollars or the destiny of men?

Boston, Mass. April 7, 1906.

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To the Rev. Washington Gladden D.D.,
Columbus, Ohio.

Dear Sir,

Those members of the Prudential Committee who took part in the conference of November 1st, in Dr.Gordon's study, and to whom you addressed your letter of March 20th, beg leave to reply.

You say in your letter:- "The conference consented that I should make the following statement - 'The principle for which we contended was not voted down at Seattle. The Board simply declined to take any action upon it. I am satisfied that that principle will be respected in the future action of the Board. There need be no fear that moral issues will be raised hereafter in the solicitation of money.'"

You add:- "When asked about the correctness of this statement some of you"(of us)"have declined to confirm it and have even used language concerning it which implied that it was unwarranted."

We deeply regret the pain which has thus been given you and hope that we may be able to make such answer as may convince you that, at all events, we have not intended to do you wrong. And we profess our hearty desire to do anything in our power to relieve your embarrassment.

We are not aware that anyone of our number has sought to

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disavow the statement cited above or to disallow any part of the letter which Dr.Gordon wrote to you in his capacity as the chosen spokesman of all the members of that conference to you. So far is this from being the case, that in a letter of the President of the Board addressed to you, under date of March 12th, occur these words:-"Two things were agreed upon by the gentlemen present: Firstly, that Dr.Gordon should write to you, that the phraseology you had proposed to him was accepted by us, and that you were at liberty to state this fact to your friends as were we also to any of ours who were interested to know. And, secondly, it was also agreed that nothing should be given to the press, but that what was done should be done personally from one to another."

We beg to call your attention anew to this explicit acknowledgement in writing by the President, under such late date, and we hope that you will believe that it is not the attempt of the members of the Committee to withdraw from that statement made by Dr.Gordon to you, or to discredit you for having used it in the way that Dr.Gordon indicated that it should be used.

But we have a letter from you to several of our number, under date of March 5th, in which you quote at length a letter of a correspondent of yours in Michigan which, you lead us to infer, may have been the occasion of the unhappy misunderstanding. We think you will kindly permit us to endeavor to explain this correspondence.

This Michigan correspondent had addressed a letter to the President of the Board, under date of November 29th, to which the President had replied, under date of December 14th. That reply of the Presdent had been cited by the Michigan correspondent in a letter to you. But we deem it possible that the full text of the correspondence was not before you when you wrote your letter of the 5th, and it is possible that the letter of the President was not under the eye of the Michigan correspondent as he wrote to you.

The correspondence is before us. The gentleman in Michigan had asked:- "Am I authorized to make a statement similar"(to Dr.Gladden's)"before my congregation?" To this the President replied:- "I do not see that I have any right to authorize you to make to your congregation such a statement as you refer to." In the President's view of the terms of the conference, which is also our own view, he was not permitted personally to authorize public statements at all. Dr.Gordon had conveyed to you whatever warrant of that nature those present in the conference had agreed upon. Of course, the correspondent was free to quote you, or to refer to Dr.Gordon directly.

Secondly, you cite your Michigan correspondent as declaring that the President "had pointed to the fact that the Board had upheld the Prudential Committee by an overwhelming vote." We realize that this statement of your Michigan correspondent is open to a serious misapprehension which was certainly never intended. The President's letter, which lies before us, says:- "The corporate members, by a fuller expression of opinion than was ever given before on any subject, by a vote of four to one, approved the position of the Prudential Committee." This statement of the President referred, as of course you know(though possibly your Michigan correspondent did not know it) to the answers to letters addressed individually to all corporate members before the Seattle meeting. This correspondence was put into your hands at Seattle. The statement of the President concerning this expression of opinion by corporate members in correspondence does not, therefore, contravene yours "that your contention was not voted down at Seattle." And that it was not intended so to do is evident from the fact that the very next sentence of the President's letter to the Michigan correspondent begins thus:- "They also"(the corporate members)"at the last Annual Meeting, after a full discussion, by a vote of forty-six to ten, put the whole question on the table." The purpose of the allusion to this expression of opinion was simply to point out that here was a fact of which the Committee was not altogether to lose sight.

In your letter of March 20th, you say:- "What you authorized me to say was that the spirit of my Seattle resolution would govern the Prudential Committee in its future action." Will you allow us to say, with all possible deference, that it would not have seemed to us that this statement just quoted is, as a statement of principle, the precise equivalent of the statement, cited at the beginning of this letter, which you were authorized by us to make. But we fully believe that it was intended by you to describe the same practical course of procedure which the Committee are eager, for all reasons, to pursue.

Might not the issue of the controversy, concerning which, as Dr.Gordon said wisely, and with great emphasis, at the close of the conference, that it would be very foolish for either party to assert that it had triumphed, be stated thus:- that the corporate members approved the position of the Prudential Committee that the Committee should not constitute itself a tribunal for passing public judgments: but that, on the other hand, it is left to the prudence of the Committee to refrain from solicitation of money in quarters where such solicitation would involve the condoning of known evil?

The actual vote taken at Seattle we interpreted to mean tha the Board wished the discussion to cease. It was in view of this feeling that we declined to make public statement in the autumn. It was with this view that all agreed that the conference at Dr. Gordon's house should be conducted in such manner that report should not go out from it which would be equivalent to public statement by ourselves. But for the history of that conference we refer you to letters addressed to you on March 12th by the President of the Board (the letter above referred to) and the Chairman of the Prudential Committee under the same date, both of which letters were seen by Dr. Gordon and declared by him to represent exactly the agreement and spirit of the conference. It was made plain to you that Dr. Gordon was the spokesman of that conference to you and he, in his letter to you, indicated in what manner he desired that the material of his letter should be used by you.

We note, indeed, that in your letter of March 20th, you sa "One of the members of the conference suggested that I give the statement publicity before my own congregation, or some representative gathering of Congregationalists." We think it must be evident to you that this suggestion of the correspondent here referred to was not authorized by the conference. And, if we are rightly informed, you said, in conversation with Dr.Patton, the Home Secretary, in Columbus, on March 21st, that, having written to Dr.Gordon objecting to the decision of the conference with reference to the manner of making known its results, you did not wait, but made public statement before receiving his reply. We can but think that this inadvertence of your correspondent, in part at least, led to the embarrassment.

Finally, at the end of your letter of March 20th, you suggest: "That the members of the Prudential Committee make clear that the policy outlined in my statement has been followed since the Seattle meeting, which is a fair assurance that it will be." The members of the Committee are not aware that anyone has alleged that money has been sought since the Annual Meeting in a manner which would contravene the assertions which they empowered Dr.Gordon to make to you and you to make on the basis of his communication. If you have evidence concerning any such allegation, you will put us under great obligation if you will present it to us at once. We are perfectly willing to make the assertion which you request, that to our knowledge nothing has been done against the spirit of that conference and that it is our intention that nothing shall be so done. But to make this assertion of ourselves and apart from your request, would have seemed to us unnecessary.

We greatly regret the pain which your feeling of having been put in a false position has occasioned you. We beg leave to submit the above facts as indicating that there was no intention upon our part to put you in a false position. And if what we have written may have made your way easier and our own sincere attitude more clear, the purpose of this letter will have been accomplished.

Yours truly,

Edward C. Moore
Samuel B. Capen
H. A. Wilder
Francis O. Winslow
John Hopkins Denison
Edward M. Noyes

OUTLINE OF THE LIFE OF WASHINGTON GLADDEN

Solomon Washington Gladden was born in Pottsgrove, Pennsylvania in the year 1836, the son of a New England schoolmaster and a New York farmer's daughter. When Gladden's father died, the boy, then six years of age, was taken in by an uncle to live on a farm in Tioga County, near the village of Owego, New York. He attended the district school and helped with the work on the farm. At age sixteen he was apprenticed to a village newspaper editor, and for four years worked at various printshop jobs. While working for the newspaper, Gladden made the acquaintance of a young Congregational minister who influenced him to prepare for a life of service in the Church. After a year of study in a local academy, Gladden attended Williams College in Massachusetts, from whence he graduated in 1859. After teaching school for a few months, Gladden preached in a revival meeting for six weeks, decided that the pastorate was the place for him, and immediately took up the first of a series of pulpits in churches in Brooklyn and Morrisania, New York; and in North Adams, Massachusetts.

Gladden then served for four years as religious editor of the Independent, a newspaper published in New York City. After this, he served for seven years as pastor of the North Congregational Church in Springfield, Massachusetts. And then, in 1882, he became pastor of the First Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio, where he served for thirty-two years until his retirement. It was during these latter years that Gladden reached the peak of his popularity and effectiveness.

1836	February 11. Born Solomon Washington Gladden at Pottsgrove, Pennsylvania;
1841-1842	Spent a year with his grandparents at Bedlam, Massachusetts;
1842-1852	Lived with an uncle on a farm near Owego, New York;
1852	Apprenticed in the office of *The Owego Gazette*, Owego, New York;
1855	Attended Owego Academy;
1856	Entered Williams College, graduating in 1859;
1860	November 15. Ordained as pastor of the First Congregational Methodist Church, Brooklyn, New York;
1860	December 5. Married Jennie O. Cohoon of Brooklyn, New York;
1860-1861	Pastor, First Congregational Methodist Church, Brooklyn, New York;
1861-1866	Pastor, The Congregational Church, Morrisania, New York;
1863	Engaged in hospital work with the Army of the Potomac;
1866-1871	Pastor, Congregational Church, North Adams, Massachusetts;
1871-1875	Religious editor of *The New York Independent*;
1875-1882	Pastor, North Congregational Church, Springfield, Massachusetts;
1878-1881	Editor of *Sunday Afternoon*;
1879	Gladden's hymn, "O Master, Let Me Walk With Thee," appeared as poem in *Sunday Afternoon*;

1881	Received honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Wisconsin;
1882-1918	Pastor and Pastor-Emeritus, First Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio;
1882	Received honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Roanoke College;
1886	Called to become president of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. Call never consummated;
1889	Lyman Beecher lecturer, Yale University;
1893	Elected president of Illinois State University. Elected president of Ohio State University. Neither election accepted;
1893-1899	Preacher to Harvard University (Six annual six-week terms.);
1900-1902	Served as member of the City Council, Columbus, Ohio;
1902	Lyman Beecher Lecturer, Yale University;
1904	Elected moderator of the National Council of Congregational Churches, Des Moines, Iowa;
1905	Addressed the annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Seattle, Washington, upon "Shall Ill-gotten Gains be Sought for Christian Purposes?";
1905	Received honorary Doctor of Laws degree from University of Notre Dame;
1907	Addressed the National Council of Congregational Churches at Cleveland, Ohio;
1918	July 2. Death at his home in Columbus, Ohio.